

A  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
COLLECTION  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

Begining where SAMUEL DANIEL Esquire  
ended with the Reigne of EDWARD the third:  
And ending where the honourable Vicount  
*Saint Albanes* began with the Life of  
HENRY the seventh.

Being a compleat History of the begining and end  
of the diffention betwixt the two houses of  
*York and Lancaster.*

With the Matches and Issue of all the Kings, Princes, Dukes,  
Marqueffes, Earles, and Vicounts of this Nation  
deceased, during those times.

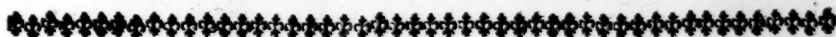
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By *J. T.*

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— *Sequitur non passibus equis*  
*Ascanius* —

Virgil.



LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Bishop* for *Daniel Pakeman* at the signe of  
the Raine-bow in Fleet-street, neere the inner  
Temple Gate. 1641.



# CONTINUATION

OF THE

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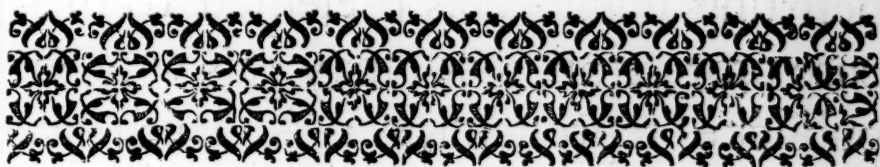
OF THE

RECORDS

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TO  
THE HONORABLE,  
REVEREND, AND RIGHT

Worshipfull, Sir I O H N B R A M S T O N

Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of his Majesties Bench,

Sir WILLIAM IONES, Sir GEORGE

CROOKE, Sir ROBERT BARCKLEY,

Knights, the Learned Judges  
of that Court.



licence me (I humbly be-  
seech your Reverend fa-  
therhoods) with the con-  
trite penitent, Ingenious-  
ly to acknowledge my  
Errour, which is over-much presump-  
tion in under-taking, more in publishing,  
but most in thus presenting this my  
Collection: But withall to appeale from  
the barre of Rigor, to the borde of Fa-  
vour, and thereat to obtaine this exte-  
nuation of censure: That being it was  
begun with a good intent, prosecuted to  
a seeming good end, and is now in all

A 2

be.

befitting humbleness presented to procure protection, that I may pass without publicke reprehension : And sithence words and writing are not reall according as they are spoke or writ, but as they are approved by others: Let your noble dispositions but make a favourable exposition of what is done : And then I am confident I shall untoucht pass the pikes of scorn and reproofe : In earnest expectation whereof, humble and heartie prayers to God, the giver of all good gifts, for your long lives, in health and hearts ease here, and sempiternall happiness hereafter, shall not want daily to be powred out, by him that hourly rests

Your Lordships reallest in all  
service and duty,

JOHN TRUSSELL.



## To the Courteous Reader.

**M***Y naturall propension to the reading of History, was the occasion that I left no Chronicle of this land, that purse, or prayer could purchase or procure, unperused: whereby I found that verified, that Prince Henry (now with God) complained of, which was, that of all Nations the English were most blame-worthy; That being inferiour to none for praise-worthy atchievements, yet were surpassed by all, in leaving the memory of those their praise-worthy actions to posterity. This I tooke to heart, but every way unable to remedy it, I rested silent, untill of late it came into my minde; That that part of the History of great Britaine, which was most intricate and troublesome, which was the beginning of that Story was happily begun and as ingeniously followed by that every way well deserving Gentleman Samuel Daniel: And thereby all those rubbes and bawkes which the deluge of time had raised and left on the plat forme, were made smooth or taken away, and that Viscount Saint Albones had so sufficiently perfected that of all other the most doubtfull (if not dangerous peece) of later times to be undertaken, the happy Conjunction of the so long severed houses of Yorke and Lancaster; and that many others reverend and judicious men, had by way of Annals pursued the history unto the blessed Uniting of the two neighbour, but long before divided Kingdomes of England and Scotland, so that now there wanted nothing to*



The Epistle to the Reader.

*make the history compleat, for so much as was requisite untill that time, but only the passages from Richard the second to the period of Richard the third, a great part whereof was likewise accurately done by Sir Iohn Heyward and Sir Thomas More, so that now with little labour that gap might easily be filled up, and the history made passable; Whereupon I have adventured to adde my peece of ordinary value, to those rich remnants of three pil'd Velvet, by enterweaving the times of Richard the second, Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, Edward the fourth, Edward the fifth, and the Usurper Richard the third; Wherein though I prove but a botcher, yet as the old saying is, better a course clout than a hole out. And to cleere my selfe though not à toto, yet à tanto, from that aspersiō that happily might be cast upon my endeavours, that howsoever not ignorant of my owne manifold imperfections, yet like blind bayard, I should over-boldly venture to tread in that Maze, which ought not to have been undertaken, but by a more able body and a more active braine, and thereby have forgetfully brought my selfe within the number of those over-forward Writers, which Doctor Heyward in his Epistle Dedicatory to his first three Norman Kings affirmeth, hath sullied the beauty of the English history.*

*Give me leave gentle Reader, (I beseech thee) as before I have yeelded the reason, that incited me to the undertaking of this work, so to give thee an account of my proceeding therein.*

*First, I have forborne to assume unto my selfe the liberty of an Historian, to obtrude upon thee any thing of my own invention, quia malui aliena imprudenter dicere quàm propria impudenter ingerere: And for that History is or ought to be a perfect register of things formerly done truly,*

The Epistle to the Reader.

truly, or at least warrantable by probability: I have pro posse meo examined, though not all, (yet without touch of Arrogance, I may speake it) the most and best, that have written of those times, and culling out the truth as neere as I could gather it, like an Eccho, Voces quas accepi fidelissimè reddidi.

Secondly, I have pared off these superfluous exuberances, which like Wennes upon a beautifull face, disgrace the otherwise gracefull comelimesse of the countenance; I meane,

1. Matters of Ceremony, as Coronations, Christenings, Marriages, Funeralls, solemne Feasts, and such like.

2. Matters of Triumph, as Tiltings, Maskings, Barriers, Pageants, Gallefoists, and the like.

3. Matters of novelty, as great inundations, sudden rising and falling of prizes of Corne, strange Monsters, Justice done on petty offenders, and such like executions, with which the Cacoethes of the Writers of those times have mingled matters of State.

And lastly, I have inserted the matches and issue of all above the degree of a Baron, that have ended their dayes during those times, with the number of slaine, during the division of the two Roses; which how farre it may conduce to the better understanding of the History, I leave to thy capacity, and my selfe to thy courtesie, and so expecting a favourable censure rest thine,

JOHN TRUSSELL.



April 24. 1635.

*Perlegi hoc Opus Historicum duobus voluminibus comprehensum, cui  
titulus, A Continuation of the Collection of the History of  
England, &c. quod quidem in toto continet folia 418. aut circiter, in  
quibus nihil reperio sanæ doctrinæ, aut bonis moribus contrarium,  
quo minus cum utilitate publica imprimi possit: Sub ea tamen condi-  
tione, ut si non intra triennium typis mandetur, hæc licentia sit omnino  
irrita.*

GULIELMUS HEYWOOD Capel.  
domest. R. R. P. Archiep. Cant.





A  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

*Liber Tertius.*

RICHARD THE SECOND.



*Richard the second, born at Burdeaux, son of Edward the Black Prince, and Ioane the daughter of Edmond Earle of Kent, and grandchild to Edward the third, being eleven yeares old, was crowned King at Westminster the 21. day of June 1377. by Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, at the time of whole Coronation the Duke of Lancaster, per nomen Iohannis Regis Castilia & Legionis Ducis Lancastriae, put his claime as Earle of Lecester, to have the place of Earle Marshall of*

*An.  
1377.  
R. 1.*

England; as Duke of Lancaster, to carry the Sword at the Coronation called *Curtana*; as Earle of *Lincolne*, to be Carver that day: all which to bee executed by himselfe, or his sufficient Deputie: which, with the fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him, and he accordingly did then and there in person execute the place of high Marshall.

At such yeares as this King was then of, the mind of man is like unto the potters earth, apt to be wrought into any fashion, and then which way soever it hardeneth by custome, it seldome swerves from the same. The governance of the King at the first was committed to certaine Bishops, Earles, Barons, and Justices; but either by nicenesse and feare of discontenting the King, or negligence to discharge their duty, or both, every one was more ready to please him with delightfull conceits, than with profitable counsell to doe him good: for smooth and pleasing speeches need small endeavour, and alwayes finde favour: whereas to advise that which is most meet, is a point of some paines, and many (if not most) times but a thanklesse office



An.  
1378  
R. 2.

fice: Hereupon two dangerous evils did ensue: Flattery brake in, and private respects (as ever since it hath done) did passe under publike pretences.

At his Coronation he created foure Earles; *Thomas Woodstocke* King *Edward* the thirds youngest sonne, Earle of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger brother of *John Lord Mowbray*, was created Earle of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angolisme a Gascoine*, Earle of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy*, son of *Henry Lord Piercy*, was created Earle of *Northumberland*.

In the beginning of this Kings Raigne, the French on the one side, and the Scots on the other, did cruelly infest this Land, the one making depredations in the Isle of Wight, harrying the same, and attempting the Castle from whence they were manfully repulsed by a Captain whose name I will forbear, because in some Authors I finde him stiled by another appellation: the other forraged the Countrey round about, and burnt the Towne of *Rocksborough*. This course of each side, spoiling the English, they (both French and Scots combining) continued by sea, untill *John Philpot*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, (lamenting the misery of the times, occasioned by common neglect of securing the Coasts, and scouring the seas whereby the Merchant durst not traffick abroad for feare of Pyrats, which hovered in every corner, but especially of one *Mercer* a Scottish Rover, who had drawne together a great Fleet of French, Scots, and Spaniards, and with them did rob and spoile all they met, and did great mischiefe) complained hereof to the Kings Councell, and demonstrated to them the daily wrongs sustained by the said *Mercer*, imploring their aid; but receiving from them no reliefe, he at his owne proper costs victualed and manned forth a company of tall ships, himselfe in person going with them to sea; and in short time tooke the said *Mercer*, and recovered all the prizes formerly taken, with fiftene Spanish Bottoms well fraught with riches, besides many French and Scottish ships; For which action he incurred the hard censure of most of the Noble men, from whom he seemed to have snatched by this his fortunate attempt the native cognisance of true nobility; Amongst whom *Hugh Earle of Stafford* nettled with the generall commendations given to *Philpot* for this designe publickly at the Councell table, objected against him, the unlawfulness of the act, without authority, being but a private man, to attempt to levy armes. But *Philpot* with a kinde of undaunted resolution, not only justified the act, as though not altogether lawfull, yet very expedient, being done for the honour of God, and the King, and the security of the republick, but retorted the objection of improvidence, and slothfull neglect, upon the Earle and the rest of the Councell, so that they were much to seek for a reply, and he returned with the generall applause of the Citizens, and most of the Courtiers.

An.  
1379.  
R. 3.

The King of *France* presuming of the Kings minority with some Spanish ayde, landed in the Southwest part of *England*, and ransackt and burnt the townes of *Plimmoth*, *Dartmoth*, *Portsmouth*, *Rye*, and divers other Coast townes, and marched further into the mayne, untill, by the Earle of *Cambridge*, the Kings uncle, and the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Buckingham*, and their forces, they were encountred and beat back unto their ships.

About that time also by the King of *France* his instigation, *Alexander Ramsey*, a brave Scot, with forty of his Countrey-men, in the night surpris'd the Castle of *Barwick*, and intended to have falne upon the Towne; but the Inhabitants suspecting some treason by the noise they heard, endeavoured to prevent mischiefe, hewed downe the staves of the draw-bridge, on the  
towne

towne side, so that when the Scots let fall the Bridge, the chaines breaking, the Bridge fell into the ditch, by meanes whereof the Scots were imprisoned by their own conquest; yet as well as they were able, they fortified themselves in the Castle, which presently was besieged and assaulted, and (though valiantly defended) was with some losse at length surpris'd: upon the taking whereof, not one man but the Captaine *Ramsay* was spared.

Ann.  
1378.  
R.2.

In the third year of this Kings raigne, it was concluded, that to avoide unnecessary charge, the tutelage of the King should be committed but to one man; and by the whole consent of the Parliament assembled, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe*, Earle of *Warwick*, and a competent pension was assigned him out of the Kings Exchequer for his paines and care thereabouts to be taken. But the King being plunged in the gulf of pleasure, did immoderately bend himselfe, to advance and favour such persons as were reprobable for life, and generally condemned for debauchment; and this was the cause of two great inconveniences, for many of the younglings of the Nobility, observing the secret favours and distastes of the King, gave over themselves to a dissolute and dishonest course, which findeth some followers when it hath no furtherancers; much more when it doth flourish and thrive by countenance and abetment: The King also by favouring these, was himselfe little favoured, and lesse loved by many; For it is as dangerous to a Prince, to have evill and despised adherents, as to be evill and despicable himselfe. The chiefe actors in this scene were *Nevis* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, *Michael Delapoole*, *Robert Tresilian* Lord chiefe Justice, *Nicholas Bramber*, Alderman of *London*, and others, neither eminent by birth or desert, but observant and plyable to the Kings humour: These were highly in credit with the King, both in company and councill alwaies next him: By these he ordered his private actions, by these he managed his affaires of State; he spared neither the dignity, nor death of any man whose authority of life interposed their pleasure or profit. He removed Sir *Richard Scroope* from being Lord Chancellor of *England* (to which place he was appointed by the Parliament) because he refused to set the great Seale to the grant of certaine lands, which had been abusively drawn from the King: alledging for his so doing, the great debts of the King, the small demerits of the grauntees, upon whom the King might consume much, but orderly give nothing; wishing the King might be well advertised, that ryot might deceive him under the termes of bounty, and that gifts well ordered procure not so much love, as indiscreetly imparted incite envie. This Chancellor used not to cauterize his conscience with partiall maintaining of such as were mighty, but being alike to all, was the sooner disliked of all that were lewd.

Ann.  
1379.  
R.3.  
The Earle  
of *War-*  
*wick* made  
sole Tutor  
to the  
King.

*Scroope* L.  
Chancel-  
lor remo-  
ved.

The destruction of the Duke of *Lancaster* was plotted upon the like dislike by Justice *Tresilian*, offences were suggested, appellors appointed, Peeres named, sudden arrest intended, and present arraignment, condemnation, and execution concluded; But the Duke upon notice of these contrivances, escaped to *Pomfret* Castle, and there made preparation for his defence against the King; from hence grew a head of division, which the common people at that time very busily sought. But the Kings Mother incessantly travelling between the King and the Duke (notwithstanding her unwelldinesse and age) drew them both to reconcilment; The King in regard of the dangerous and discontented times, the Duke in respect of his dutie and allegiance, the more easie to be made inclinable; and so partly by her entreatie and counsell,

Ann.  
1381.  
R.3.

counsell, and partly by their inclination, bending to the safest course, all apparance of displeasure on the one part, and distrust on the other, was for that time removed. The Frenchmen againe land in *England*, and did much harme at *Dover*, *Winchelsey*, *Hastings*, and at *Graves-End*; and uncountred, returned to *France*: For prevention of which out-rages and revenge of those injuries offered, a Parliament is assembled at *westminster*; in which a Subsidie of foure pence *per poll* of each sex throughout the Kingdome (above the age of fourteen yeers) is granted to the King. The levying whereof procured much heart-burning, and did much alien the hearts of the subjects from the King. With that money preparation is made, and eight thousand men sent over into *France*, under the conduct of *Thomas of Woodstock* the Kings Uncle; who passing over *Soam*, *Oyse*, and *Marne*, rivers, spoyled and burnt all the Countrey, and ransomed the Inhabitants, untill he came to *Britanie*; where by the Duke *John Momford*, he was joyfully received, and royally entertained.

About this time one *John Ball*, a factious Cleargy man, a scholler of *Wick-cliff*, observing the Common people much to murmure at the paiment of the foresaid Subsidy; in all places where he came, used secretly to informe the inferiour sort of people, such as were poore and needy, That by descent from *Adam*, all men were of one condition, that the lawes of this Kingdome were injurious, and much hindred us of participating Christian liberty; nay, most unjust, by making so great a difference of mens estate, preferring some to be Peeres and Potentates, giving to some others large authority, and enlarging others possessions, and taking advantage of the humble and plyable condition and carriage of others, kept them in servilitie and baseness, hardly giving them allowance of sustenance; and not that neither, but with sweat and hard labour; where amongst Christians there should be an equall share of all things, and that in common, taking this for his theame; *when Adam delv'd and Eve span, who was then a gentleman*. With such like trayterous perswasions, he did prepare the Vulgar (apt to entertaine the proffers of rebellion) and fit them for insurrection upon the slightest occasion: This doctrine once on foot, run from Rustick to Gentile, and from Shire to Shire; that at length, it insatuated them, and infected the Citie of *London*, the Commons whereof, I meane the poorer sort of mechanicks and handicrafts, desperately inclined to mutiny upon the reasons aforesaid, incited and invited the multitude, prepared as aforesaid, to come thither, promising their best assistance and furtherance: Whereupon a rude rout of rascalls, under the leading of *Wat Tyler* a Taylor, who commanded in chiefe, with their grave Minister *John Ball*, *Jack Straw* a Thresher, *Jack Sheppard* of the Councell of warre, under the title of the Kings men, and the servants of the Common-Wealth of *England*, came to *London*, ransacking by the way, and demolishing from *Essex* side, all the faire Structures and great Buildings of the Nobility and Gentry: They summoned the King to give them a meeting; who accordingly accompanied with the most of his best Councillors, took his Bardge and went to *Graves-End*; but seeing the rabble so ragged and rogue-like, a company of swads, compact of the off-scum of the people; it was held no discretion for the King to venture his person among them, and so returned to the Tower from whence he came.

The Commons in-  
surrection  
under *Wat*  
*Tyler's* lea-  
ding.

Ann.  
1482.  
R.4.

The next day these unruly rake-shames approached *London*, but finding the Gates lockt, and the bridge drawn, and well guarded, they threatned the slaughter of man, woman, and child, on Southwark side, the sacking of their houses,



houses, and lastly the firing of the Borough and Churchies there. For prevention whereof, and somewhat to keep the staggering Commons from precipitate running with them into rebellion, the Gates were opened and the bridge let down, and by permission they entred, where their furie (with faire words and kinde usage) was for that night pacified; only the Commander *Tyler* sent for his quondam Master *Richard Lyon*, an antient grave Citizen, and in thankfull requitall of moderate and deserved punishment given him in his apprenticeship, he caused his head to be struck off, and pitched upon a pole, and in triumph borne before him the next day when he went to the *Savoy* (a house belonging to *John of Gaunt* the Kings Uncle) which they rifled, burnt, and inhumanly murdered all the chief Officers they found there: They commit sacriledge in all Churches & religious houses, robbing the houses of the students in the Law, committing to the fire all their bookes and Records, proclayming death to any that should be found to know law, or literature; they spoyled all Forrainers inhabiting in or neere *London*; and their numbers increasing to threescore thousand, they came to Saint *Katherine's*, from thence sending to the King to attend their pleasure at *Mile End*; who accordingly went. But no sooner was the King gone forth of the tower to the place appointed; when *Tyler* with some of his comrades, entred the Tower gates, rifled the Kings lodging, barbarously entreating the Kings Mother both with bad language, and worse blowes, where they apprehended as he was performing the Ceremonies of the Church, the Reverend *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who formerly had convened their proloquutor *John Ball*, for promulgating his dangeous if not damnable positions) and strook off his head. They broke up all the Prisons, and set at liberty all the Malefactors there, and then came to meet the King at *Mile End*. The King demanded what it was that was with such hostile manner required, when with a confused noyse some cryed manumission, others maintenance, others to have their lands freed from Service; every one what hee thought would most conduce to his owne particular end. The King promiseth to call a Parliament, and thereby (which now hee granted) promised to establish what to that purpose should be set downe in writing, and further gave a generall Pardon and safe conducts for their returne every man to his owne habitation; whereupon the most of the seeming best of these bad rebels, disbanded and went homeward, and the Londoners returned. But *Tyler* (whose ayme was the robbing of the Citie of *London*, and the extirpation of all any way noted for learning) with twenty thousand of the dregs, and skum of his rake-hels, came to *Smithfield*: To whom the King (guarded with a small strength) attended on amongst others, by *William Walworth* Maior, *John Philpot* the darling of the Mariners, and *Nicolas Bramber*, Aldermen of *London*, and Sir *John Newton*, and some few others (men of resolute and brave spirits) presented himselfe, but was by that traitourly *Tyler* received in that base and scornefull manner, and with so many affronts to his followers, that *John Philpot* told the King the abuses were insufferable, and so please him but to command his Lievtenant, meaning the Maior, to arrest the Traytor, he would lose his life, if it were not accordingly performed. Neverthelesse the King doubting the sequell, was unwilling to provoke a mad dog, & with faire speeches and pleasing countenance, he began to expostulate with *Tyler*, and was willing to condescend to some dishonourable conditions (being betwixt soveraign and subject) to content him; but the more he found the King pliable, the more

An.  
1382.  
H.4.

In missa celebratione deprehensum.



An.  
1382.  
R.5.

Digito la-  
bis admo-  
to, &c.

The Maior  
flayeth  
was Tyler.

Perditus  
& pernici-  
osus Irf-  
tyler.

The Lord  
chiefe Ju-  
stice flaine  
by rebels

arrogantly did he insult, and the more unreasonable were his demands, and too too insolent his behaviour; amongst other this was one of his demands to have all law abolished, affirming with an execrable oath, before night all the Law of *England* should passe through this straight, clapping his hand to his mouth, in the meane time *Philpot* had sent into the Citie to Sir *Robert Knowles* who was left behind to keep the multitude quiet, to make knowne the Kings danger and his own, conjuring them by their duty to the King and love to him, to make all possible speed to their reskues; & afterward prompting the Maior what to do, having by Sir *John Newtons* help covertly drawn close together as many of the Kings followers as were present, he attended the sequell. *Tyler* persisting in his insupportable arrogance, demanded the Kings dagger of his Esquire that held it, which being by the Kings connivance delivered him: he further presumed to command the Esquire to give him the Sword also: to whom the young Sparck bravely said, a Kings Sword would but ill become a knaves hand; wherewith *Tyler* rising up, offering to approach towards the Kings Page: The Maior of *London* that only awaighted the occasion of hazzarding his life in surprising so proud a traitor, snatcheth the Kings dagger out of the sheathe in *Tylers* hand, and then sheathes the same in *Tylers* body, whereupon *Philpot* with his sword saluted him on the cockscombe that he fell to the ground flaine. This sudden action at first dismaid the King, but being assured of present succour of the Citizens, he took courage, and being rounded by his Nobles, they gave defiance to the headlesse rowte, which wanted not will, not meanes to revenge their Captaines death: but each one expecting when another should begin, they stayed looking one upon another, untill newes was brought that the Londoners under the conduct of Sir *Robert Knowles* in battell aray approached: and then they sling down their weapons, and every one shifted for himselfe, and quit the field, at which the King wonderfully rejoyced, and in the same place made *William Walworth*, *John Philpot*, *Ralph Standish*, *John Laund*, *Nicolas Twisfeld*. and *Nicolas Bramber* Knights; whilst these tumults were thus in agitation, by the procurement of *John Wall* that pernicious Priest, one *John Wraw* (a whelp of the same litter, a Chaplaine for the Devils good grace) was sent into *Norfolk* and the adjacent countries, to incite upon the like motives the Commons to insurrection, and to joyn with *Tyler*; which tooke so suddenly, that in *Hartfordshire* about *Saint Albons*, and at *Saint Edmonds-bury* in *Suffolk*, upon *Corpus Christi* day, to the number of fifty thousand were assembled; and under the conduct of one *Robert Westborne* an Inne-keeper: They outrageously destroyed and demolished all the Noble and Gentlemens houses of note: And put to death all the professors of law they could finde.

They rooke Sir *John Cavendish* Lord chiefe Justice of the Kings bench, strook off his head, and placed the same upon the Pillory in *S. Edmonds-bury*. They beheaded likewise *John of Cambridge* the Prior thereof, and *John de Lakinghuith*, one of the Priors *Commoignes*, carrying them in triumph, and placed them on poles upon the said pillory.

They caused the *Covent* to surrender up all Obligations and writings obligatory in their custody, and all their Charters of priviledge which *Canutus* the ir founder had bestowed upon that house, which the more to endeere themselves to their favour, they delivered cancelled to the Townesmen. In like manner in *Norfolk* under the command of *John Litistat* a Dyer of *Norwich* the like outrages are committed, from whose fury the Earle of

*Sulfolk*

*Suffolk* narrowly escaped, at *Northwaltham* in *Norfolk*; they stiled their Cap-  
taine King of the Commons, and enforced the Lords, *Scales* and *Morley*  
with divers worshipfull Knights to attend upon him at the table, which for  
that *Sir Robert Saul* refused to doe, they beat out his braines.

*Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, to suppress these insolents, by his ex-  
ample drew the Knights and Gentlemen residing thereabout, to arme them-  
selves, and to take the field, who afterwards rowted the Rebels, and took  
their Capitaine (whose head he caused presently to be strook off,) and  
their Chaplaine *Wraw* prisoners; from thence *Wraw* was sent to *London* to  
receive his tryall, where he was afterwards according to his demerits han-  
ged, drawn and quartered.

Likewise, upon the Saterday following *Corpus Christi* day, the Towns-men  
of *Cambridge* by threats enforced one *James Grancester* to be their Leader, ex-  
acting an oath from him and his brother *Thomas* to be loyal to their incorpo-  
ration, and to joyn with them in execution of any their designs. And pre-  
sently they fell upon *Corpus Christi* Colledge, which they miserably ransackt,  
tearing, burning, or spoiling, whatsoever writings, charters, and bookes they  
could come at; and did take away all the plate, vestments, treasure they  
could find, enforcing the Seniors and students of that Colledge, by oath to  
renounce and disclaime all, and whatsoever Charters, grants, priviledges,  
and franchises had been formerly bestowed upon that house, and to acknow-  
ledge from thenceforth subjection to the Maior and Burgeses of *Cambridge*.  
From thence they went like a torrent to *Saint Maries Church*, where they  
broke up the chests, and from thence took out all the treasure and Church  
ornaments; fury being on foot, left nothing undone that was barbarous, and  
passion having drowned reason, they cared not what mischief they did, nor  
to whom, so as they might make their malice sufficiently perspicuous to the  
Clergie. From *Cambridge* they went to the Priory of *Bernwell*, a mile off,  
which they like Sarazens defaced, felling down the trees, spoyling the  
walks, and setting fire to what remained there undefaced. Tired with doing,  
but not sorry for having done so many crimes, they retyned to *Cambridge*,  
where in the Market place they consumed with fire, all the ordinances, con-  
stitutions and statutes of the Univerfitie and all other the particular books,  
rowles, parchments and leidgers they could come at, taking up the ashes, and  
flinging them in the ayre, crying away with these Clerks cunning; and then  
in the darke of the night, every one shifted for one, and stole away.

The King for punishment of these and other like offenders, sent the Lord  
chiefe Justice *Tresilian* and *Sir Roger Sales*, and other Commissioners into  
all those parts where insurrection had been made.

From *Coventry*, *John Wall*, who had seconded *Wall* and *Wraw* in inciting  
the multitude to insurrection, is sent to the King, against whose froward-  
nesse in practise towards authoritie, and forwardnesse in profession to sow  
such seeds of sedition in his sermons, that thereby the people were both in-  
cited and encouraged to rebellion, such sufficient information was given  
that he was executed for high Treason.

This generall flame of combustion being extinct, the King studyeth  
he advancement of his Favourites, so that within short time after *Mi-  
chel de la Poole*, sonne and heire of *Sir William de la Poole* Knight and  
lanneret (say some, but others one of that name, a Merchant in *London*) was  
made Lord Chancellor of *England*, and created Earle of *Suffolk*; and *Ro-  
bert Vear* Earle of *Oxford*, the fourth of that name, and ninth Earle thereof,

An.  
1382  
R. 5.

The Bish.  
of Nor-  
wich sup-  
presseth  
the rebels  
in *Norfolk*.

*Cambridge*  
spoyl'd by  
the rebels.

An.  
1383.  
R. 5.

An.  
1383.  
R. 3.  
The first  
Marquesse  
created.

was created Marquesse of *Dublin* (being the first man within this Realme that was enobled with that title:) But they grew in hate, as they did in honour; for many of antient nobility did stomach their undeserved (as they deemed it) advancement, and with these the votes of the people generally went; But the Kings intemperate affection was peremptory and violent, not regarding envie untill he could not resist it.

An.  
1384.  
R. 6.

The yeere following, the new Marquesse was Created Duke of *Ireland*, The lower house of Parliament exhibited a bill of grievances against the Chancellor, desiring his answer thereto, and tryall thereupon; the particulars whereof were 1. For that he had abused the King in farming the profits and revenews of the Crowne; 2. For profusely wasting the treasure in ryotous prodigalitie, and unnecessary expences; 3. For being dived deep into the Kings debt; 4. For being carelesse and corrupt in his Office; 5. For deceiving and discrediting the King in his accounts and disbursement (the particulars whereof were annexed to the Bill) with divers objections of, both dishonesty of body, and dishonour in his private actions, and publike Office. This Earle from *London* sent a student to *Oxford*, returned, well clothed to the Court, and there suddenly grown great, could not moderate his change, but in his height of prosperitie, layed open the basenesse of his inclination and condition, which before were either cunningly covered or craftily cloked from being discovered; And serving a weake Ruler, in an eminent place, with an ill minde, he made open sale of his Princes honour; But the King willing to connive at, or remit the offences, silently let the complaints slip, with a short audience and no examination, expressing himselfe thereby neither much grieved at the offences, nor well pleased with the complaint: A Subsidie is required, but answer was made, there was no need of it, since the Kings wants might be furnished and supplied with his own debts due from the Chancellour, if called in, neither was it if otherwise, to any purpose, to be graunted so long as the moneys should be issued by such persons as formerly had been, and was likely to be againe.

A subsidy  
demanded  
and denied.

The complaints against the Chancellor are recontinued with that earnestnesse, that the King is perswaded, that it is neither for his Honour, or safetie, to justifie him; for to private men it is sufficient, if themselves abstaine from wrong; but Princes must provide that none doe wrong under them; For by conniving and abetting the faults of their Officers, they make them too often seeme their own: and they will be objected against them, upon the first occasion. The importunity of both houses, wrought the Kings consent to a Commission, to authorize divers noble men, to hear and determine, all grievances and objections against the Chancellour; Thereupon a Subsidie is granted, but with proviso, that the money be disposed of by the Commissioners agreed upon, to the benefit of the Realme.

Commis-  
sioners ap-  
pointed to  
receive  
the Subsi-  
die.

The King moved that the heires of *Charles Bloyes*, who laid clayme to the Dutchy of *Britaine*, should be delivered to the French, upon the receipt of 30000 Markes by them to that purpose offered, the same to be delivered to the Duke of *Ireland*, for the recovery of those possessions the King had given him in *Ireland*, which was assented unto, so as before the feast of *Easte* following the Duke should depart thither, and there remaine; at so high rate they valued his riddance out of the Realme; The charge of receipt issuing of the Subsidie, was committed to *Richard Earle of Arundel*.

The Duke of *Glocester* and the said Earle, were made Commissioners concerning the Earle of *Suffolk*, who by the Kings absence is left to himself,



to answer the objected misdemeanours, whereof he made the Kings blind favour his priviledge and protection, presuming never to see that either altered or over-ruled: Hee is convict of many crimes, deposed from his Office, his goods are confiscate to the King, and himselfe adjudged to execution, which was submitted to the Kings pleasure, and under sureties the Earl of *Suffolk* was permitted to goe at large.

*John Fourth Bish. of Darham*, another minion of the Kings, is removed from being Lord Treasurer; hee was a man of little depth either in learning or judgement, only one that had the art of seeming, making a formall shew of whatsoever he spake. or did, and rising from a poore estate to so high a pitch of honour: he too excessively exercised his ryot, and ambition, not able to qualifie the lusts and desires his former wants had kindled.

This businesse blown over: the King returns to *London*, and presently receives the Earle of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Archbishop of *York* to greater grace and familiaritie than before; These Triumvirs incense the King against the Nobles, that were best deserving, partly upon disgraces desertfully done unto them; partly upon malicious emulation, to see others so generally beloved (except of the King) and themselves so contemptible; And that their private spleen might carry some shew of publike respect, they suggested to the King, he was but halfe, yea not halfe a King; For (said they) if we respect matters of State, you beare the sword, but they sway it, you have the shew, but they the authority of a Prince, using your nanie as a colourable pretext to their proceedings, and your Person as a cipher to make their number the greater by the addition thereof, without which they could be nothing, neither are you any thing more by being so placed; Looke you to the duties of your Subjects, and you shall finde it is at their devotion, for you cannot command nor demand, but with such limitations and exceptions as they please to propose; And for your private actions, your bounty (the most to bee observed good vertue in a Prince,) is restrained, your expences measured, and your affections confined, to frowne, and favour, as they shall please to prescribe you. What Ward is so much under government of his Guardian? Wherein will they, or can they more abridge you: Except they should take from you the place, as they have done the power of a Prince? And in this we think they may justly be feared; having so great might, and meanes to give wings to ambitious minds; Power is never safe when it doth exceed: Ambition is like the Crocodile, growing as long as it liveth; or like the Ivie, which rising at the foot, will overptere the highest wall; it is already growne from a sparke, to a flame, and more than time it is such increase were stayed; For such over-ruling Princes presage their overthrow, and such cutting them short hath turned to cutting them off; their minds are suspicious, their power dangerous, and therefore the opportunitie must warily be prevented. The Kings youth, and weakness, made him apprehensive, and framed his minde to a full (but needlesse) feare; hee was much moved with the removall of his Chancellor, and Treasurer out of their offices, and the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realme, supposing it a restraint to his regall authoritie, not to have absolute power in all things, to give, and forgive, at his pleasure; when these privie incensers perceived the Kings humor once sharpened, they so plyed him with plausible perswasions, that (though natuarally he was of no cruell disposition, yet they drew him to many violent, and indiret courses) partly upon negligence to search out the truth, partly upon delight to be flattered, neither did they

An.  
1384.  
A.6.

The Lord  
Treasurer  
removed  
by Parlia-  
ment.



An.  
1386  
R. 6. long deferre their stratagems. At first it was plotted, that the Duke of *Glocester* and certaine others of that part, should be invited to supper in *London*, and there made away. Sir *Nicholas Brember*, who had been late Maior of the Citie, whose abundance of wealth supplied the want of honest qualities in him, was a busie agent in that butcherly businesse; But *Richard Exon* then Maior, discovered the plot, and thereof warned the Duke to avoid the present perill, and afterwards to be wary of the like.

An.  
1387  
R. 9. *Richard Earle of Arundel*, and *Thomas Earle of Nottingham*, commanded at Sea the Kings Fleet, and tooke an hundred saile of the enemies ships, well fraught with Wines, and well appointed for fight; they also relieved and fortified *Brest*, and demolished two Forts the enemies had placed against it. The Earles in this service for their valour and curtesie, got great reputation; and their actions did by so much appear the more honorable, by how much the infortunate insufficiency of other Generalls before (by whose either rashnesse, or cowardize, or both, many souldiers had been defeated, and every year) had been famous before for one losse or other. At their returne, the King more inclinable to revenge displeasure, than reward desert, (for it is troublesome to be gratefull, but revenge is pleasant, and preferred before gaine) entertained them with strangenesse of speech, and by his countenance seemed he was ill pleased for that they had deserved so well.

The King accompa-  
nieth the  
Duke of  
*Ireland*,  
towards  
*Wales*.

About this time the Duke of *Ireland* repudiated his wife, whose mother (*Isabel*) was daughter to *Edward the Third*, and took in her place a Vintners daughter a *Bohemian*. The King little regarded this indignitie done unto his Cousin german (though by her often petitioned for redresse.) And in this so great confusion of State, let it passe unproved, as obscured with greater vices. But *Glocester* her Uncle took it in disdain, as an indignitie offered to the blood Royall, and intended revenge, and so much did intimate to the Duke of *Ireland*, who plotted under hand the destruction of *Glocester*; the one openly and manlike persecuted his enemie: but the other cowardly and covertly, and therefore the more dangerously; *Glocester* was neerer and greater in blood; *Ireland* in favour; this being Uncle to the King: that bearing himselfe as the Kings fellow; The one pretended all he did for the honour of the State, the other for humour of the King; much malice did passe; but in opposition of such equall powers, there is seldom small difference in harmes.

The terme assigned the Duke *Year* for his departure into *Ireland* is past, and lest his stay might breed some stirre in *England*, he still shewed himselfe busie for preparing for his journey, and at last (though long first,) made a show of setting forth; The King went in great state to accompany him to ship; and the Earle of *Suffolk* with Justice *Tresilian* and the rest of that side either for favour followed, or for feare durst not stay behind; Together they went to *Wales*, and there the Dukes Irish journey was finished. There they debate in Councell, how the Lords might best be surpris'd; many plots were invented, all that were worst pleased well, without respect of danger or disgrace, but few stood without likelihood of event to their desires; and therefore none was fully concluded on; At length they leave *Wales*, and come to *Nottingham* Castle, where the high Sherifes of every County are summoned to appear, and strictly interrogated what strength if need should require, they were able to back the King with against the bords; the King was generally answered that the Commons did so favour the Lords; and were

were so well resolved of their dutifull love and loyalty to their Sovereign, that they durst make promise of no power to be raised against them. Then they were commanded to elect no Knights, Citizens, or Burgeses for the Parliament, but only such as the King should approve; whereto they said, it was an hard matter in times of suspect to rob the people of their ancient privilege for choosing Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament; and after some few other matters which were either unseasonably moved, or unreasonably obtained, to small purpose, the Sheriffes were licenced to depart. Then were assembled *Tresilian* chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench, *Belknap* chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, *Holi*, *Stilthorp*, *Burgh*, Justices of the Common Pleas, men learned in Court-law, to please those in highest place; these were charged upon their allegiance particularly to answer these propositions.

An.  
1387  
R. 9.

1. Whether the Statute, Ordinance, and Commission (meaning that granted against the Duke of *Suffolk*) set out the last Parliament, did derogate from the royall prerogative of the King.

2. How they were to be punished that did procure that Statute to be enacted.

3. How they were to be dealt with that provoked the King to consent thereto.

4. What punishment did they deserve that compelled the King to yeeld consent.

5. What did they merit that resisted the King to exercise his regall authority, in remitting or releasing any penalties or debts due to him.

6. When a Parliament is assembled, and the affaires of the State, and cause of convoking the Parliament declared, and Articles limited by the King upon which only the Lords and Commons should meddle, the Lords and Commons will proceed upon other, and not those by the King appointed, untill the King hath given answer to the other by them propounded; whether in this case the King ought to have the rule of the Parliament, and so to order the fact, that the Lords and Commons upon the Articles limited by the King; or that they should first have answer of the King to the Articles by them propounded before they proceed any further?

7. Whether may the King at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart?

8. Since the King may at his pleasure remove any officers and Justices, and punish them for their offences, whether may the Lords and Commons, without his leave, accuse his Officers and Justices in Parliament, yea or no?

9. What punishment have they deserved who moved a Parliament, that the statute whereby King *Edward Carnarvon* was deposed, should be brought forth, by view whereof the last Statute and Commission aforesaid were framed?

10. Whether the judgement given in the last Parliament against *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolk*, were erroneous and revocable yea or no?

These propositions were drawne by the direction of the chiefe Justice *Tresilian*, to which the aforesaid Justices answer as followeth.

1. They did derogate from the Honour of the King, because extorted against his will.

2.3. That they deserved to be punished by death, except the King in mercy would remit.

4.5. Worthy to be punished as Traitors.

6. Who-

An.  
1387.  
R.9.

6. Whosoever resisteth the Kings rule in that point, was punishable as a Traitor.

7. That the King may at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and whoso afterwards shall presume to proceed against the Kings manifest will, as in a Parliament, is worthy the punishment of a Traitor.

8. That they cannot; whosoever doth the contrary, deserves a Traitors punishment.

9. As well the mover as the bringer of that Statute to the house, are worthy the same death.

10. And lastly, that the said judgement seemed erroneous and revocable; in witnesse whereof they with *John Lockton* the Kings Sergeant at Law subscribed, and so under their Seales at Armes sent it.

When those hard sentences of death and treason were under generall and large termes thus fastened upon the Lords, the King supposed his attempts against them, whether by violence, or colour of Law, sufficiently warranted, but his power both wayes (as it was terrible against weak resisters, so against such mighty defendants) was of small force to effect that which he so much affected; yet he did not omit his best endeavours, and first accounting the Lords as condemned persons, he made division of their lands and goods amongst those he favoured: then he waged souldiers to be in readinesse for his assistance, and sent the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundell* at his Castle in *Rygate*, where he then lay; but he, either upon advertisement, or suspicion of the Kings intent, bandied himselfe so strong, that when the Earle of *Northumberland* came thither to him, he dissembled his intent, and left his errand untold. The Duke of *Glocester* having secret intelligence of the Kings displeasure, and of his projects, sent the Bishop of *London* to perswade the King to entertaine a more favourable opinion of him, solemnly swearing unto the Bishop, that he never intended any thing against the King, either in person or state: the Bishop, not unskilfull to joyne profitable perswasions with honesty, declared to the King, that the ground of his displeasure against the Lords was either by false suggestions of their enemies, or mis-construction of some of their actions by himselfe. Then declared he how desirous they were of his grace and favour, how faithfull and forward they promised to persist in all dutifull service; and further intimated how honourable this agreement would be to the King, and how profitable to the kingdome; nay, which was above both, how pleasing it would be to God, and how displeasing to him, and dangerous it would be to both sides, if these troubles should increase. The King by this speech seemed inclinable to atonement; but *De la Poole* Earle of *Suffolk*, a turbulent person against quiet counsell, standing neere the King, quickly hardened his minde against all impression of friendship, by meanes whereof contention arose betwixt the Bishop and the Earle, which violently brake out into heat of words. The Earle reproached the Lords with the ordinary objection against great men (popularitie and ambition:) sparing no spight of speech, but using all Rhetorick to aggravate matters against them. The Bishop replied, the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not upon any necessity of his own, or respect unto the King, but only to satisfie his bloodie and ambitious humour, wherein he was so immoderate, that rather than the Lords should not be destroyed, he would overwhelm them with the ruines of the State. For tumults might be indeed raised by men of little courage like himselfe, but must be maintained by hazzard, and ended with the losse of the most valiant:

A good  
office of  
the Bishop  
of London.



valiant: that neither his counsell against what was desired in this cause, was to be followed, (being the principall firebrand of the disturbance) nor his complants against any man in anything to be regarded, being himselfe a condemned person, and one that held his life, and livelihood, of the Kings favourable mercy, wherewith the King was so exceedingly wroth, that he commanded the Bishop out of his presence. The Duke of *Glocester* hearing this, signifies the danger to the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Darby*, inciting them to armes: and thereupon they confederate themselves, for a common defence: For in so doubtfull and suspected peace, open war (said they) was the better safety. The King having intelligence of their courses, indeavoured to prevent the Lords in joyning their forces; and to that end sent some power, either to set upon the Earle of *Arundel* in his lodging, or to intercept him in his passage to the Duke. But the Earle had marched all night, before their coming; and so unencountred came to the Duke, with whom hee found the Earles with a sufficient company, aswell to make an attempt, as to stand upon resistance. This much distracted the King; being now in choice either to relent or resist, much disdainning the one, and distrusting the other; his followers also were divided in counsell, some fretting at the disgrace, others fainting at the danger. The Archbishop of *York* perswaded with the King, that occasion was now offered to shew himselfe a King indeed. If he would raise a royall army; and by maine might, beat down the boldnesse of their presumption. This was more readily advised, than done, saith another. The adversaries army is mighty, the Commanders are great men, both for courage and skill, and greatly favoured by the Commons; whereby that which is accounted so ready pay, may prove a desperate debt: Therefore it were better with some show of yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, than by standing upon too nice punctilioes of Honor, to hazard the doubtfull event of battell, wherein the King cannot joyn, but by his weakning; nor loose without danger of his undoing. There was present old Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good souldier, but a shuttle braine, of whom the King in merriment demanded in this case what was as he thought fittest to be done? Sir *Hugh* swore, blood and wounds, let us charge home, and kill every mothers sonne, and so we shall make quick dispatch of the best friends you have in the kingdome. This giddy answer, more wayed with the King, than if it had been spoken in grave and sober sort. And thus it often hapneth, that wise counsell is more sweetly followed, when it is tempered with folly: and earnest is the lesse offensive, if it be delivered in jest. In the end the raising of armes is laid aside, not as displeasing (being so agreeable to former proceeding) but as despairing to prevaile thereby. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, were sent unto the Lords, to understand the cause of their Assembly: Answer was made, that it was for the safety of themselves, the honour of the King, and the overthrow of those that sought destruction of both: but by the mediation of the Bishops it was concluded, that the Lords should come before the King at *Westminster* upon caution of his protection: and there have publike audience, concerning their grievances. The Bishop of *Ely* giving private promise, faithfully to discover any danger he could descry, who accordingly gave notice (a little before the Lords were appointed to come,) of an awaite, that was purposed for their entrapping, at the place called the *Mewes* neere *London*, advised them, either to make stay, or to come provided, but rather to make stay than to come forward, lest further

An:  
1387:  
R. 9.

An.  
1387  
R. 9.  
The Bi-  
shops sent  
to the Ba-  
rons.

provocation might make reconciliation more difficult: whereupon, they came not at the time appointed. The King marvelling at their faylance, demanded of the Bishop of *Ely* the cause: who boldly answered that the Lords found want of true meaning; and that they neither did, nor durst repose assurance in the Kings words; which they apparantly saw was but a meanes to ensnare them. The King made the matter very strange unto him, protesting that he was free from deceit both in consent and knowledge: and presently gave command to the Sheriffes of *London* to go to that place, and to slay or take all such as they found there in wait; whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was nor privie to the practice, it is not assuredly known, but the matter was not false, but the place mistaken. For Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, had assembled divers armed men at *Westminster*, to assault the Lords at their best advantage: but perceiving the discovery of their plot, they secretly dissolved their company, and sent them away.

An.  
1388  
R. 10.  
The Lord  
Chancel-  
lors speeche  
to the  
Lords.

Then the Lords upon new faith for their security, came to the King to *Westminster*, but brought a guard with them, so many, as in a place where they were entirely favoured, was able to defend them from any sudden defeat. The King upon their comming, entred into *Westminster* great Hall, apparelled in his royall robes: and when he was placed in his seat, and composed himselfe to majesty and state: The Lord Chancellor, made a large Oration to the Lords in the Kings name, wherein he declared the heynoufnesse of their offence, and the greatnesse of their perill: how easie a matter it had been for the King, to have levyed a power sufficient to have destroyed them, and yet for the generall spare of his subjects blood, and in particular favour, to the Duke and other Nobles, he made choice to encounter, and overcome them rather by friendship, than by force, and therefore was willing, not only to pardon their ryot, but also to hear their grief, and in a quiet and peaceable way to redresse them. The Lords for answer, alledged the cause of their taking armes, to be, first, the necessitie of their own defence; secondly, their true love both to King and Realme, whose fame and fortune did daily decline, by meanes of certaine traytors, who lived only by the dishonor of the one, and decay of the other, like mothes in books and garments, that thrive by others losse. Those whom they particularly challenged to be Traytours, were *Robert Fear* Duke of *Ireland*, *Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *De la poole* Earle of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian* Lord chiefe Justice, Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, with certain others more secret, but little better. And to justifie this their appeal, they threw down their gloves, and offered themselves to the tryall of the Combat. The King replied, that oftentimes the causes of action being good, yet if the meanes want moderation and judgement, the ends prove pernicious; And therefore though these complaints should be true, yet were these courses not tolerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by the licentiousnesse of the multitude might soon have sorted to such a period; for it is more easie to raise the people than to rule them, whose fury being once stirred, will commonly be discharged some wayes. But (saith he) since we have broken this broyle, we will not by combating, give occasion of new; but at our Parliament which I will instantly convoke, both you and they shall be present, and Justice indifferently done to all. In the mean time I take you all into my protection, that neither of you shall endanger or endamage other, wishing the Lords to remember that as Princes must rule without limitation, so Christian subjects must use a mean in their liberty. Then he caused the Dukes and the Earls, which all this while kneeled, to arise and go with him

him into his private chamber, where they talked together, and after with a most friendly farewell, he licenced them to depart. They of the aduerse part, were absent at this meeting, and if they had not, it might have beene feared, the Kings presence should have been but a poore protection unto them.

The Kings demeanour herein was diuers wayes censured; some argued him fearefull, others moderate and mercifull, in preventing the effusion of his subiects blood. The Lords were well pleased with his good will and fauour; which as by base and ser vile meanes they would not seeke, being thus gotten, they did highly esteeme; yet they thought it the safest course, not to separate themselves, suspecting the mutability of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whom, neither knew they where they were, nor what they did intend, and being persons of great wealth, and greater power, but most bent to hurtfull practises, they were feared not without cause. For the Duke of *Ireland*, either by setting on, or sufferance of the King, was all this time mustering of Souldiers in *Cheshire*, or *Wales*, where he gathered an army, both for number, and goodnesse of men sufficient, if another had been Generall, to have carried aside; whereof the Lords advertised, they divided themselves, and beset the wayes by which the Duke should passe to *London*, with an intent to encounter him before he did increase his power, and countenance his action with the name of the King. The Earle of *Darby* met him, at a place called *Babbelake* neer *Burford*, where the Earles souldiers, full of hearty courage, disliking nothing more than delay, thinking losse of time was a procuring of the victory, came on bravely. But the Duke being mutinous, but not fit for action, apter to stirre strife, than stint it, upon sight of their approach would have fled: But Sir *Thomas Mullineux*, an approved souldier, Constable of *Chester*, upon whose leading all the countrey men did depend, perswaded the Duke that this was but a part of the forces, led only by the Earle of *Darby* a man no way eminent; and if they could not beare through that resistance, it was in vaine to expect any atchievement of honor by armes. Whereupon the Duke made stay, but his faint spirits were moved by this speech, rather to desire victory than hope it; his souldiers also were dull, silent, and sad; and such as were rather ready to interpret, than execute the Captaines command. They joynd battell, but scarce ten ounces of blood was lost on both sides, before the Duke of *Ireland* set spurres to his horse, and forsook the field: his souldiers thereupon, more out of indignation than fear, refused their ranks: yeelded to the Earle the honour of the field; Sir *Thomas Mullineux* flying, was overtaken and slaine by Sir *Thomas Mortimer*: the rest submitted themselves to the discretion of the Conquerours, making them the Lords of their lives and death: yeelding was no sooner offered, than accepted by the Earle, who commanded that none should be reproached or ill intreated, but the obstinate: which was obeyed, the souldiers willing to shew fauour to their countrey-men, who were led into this action, partly upon simplicities, partly for company sake. The Gentlemen and those of the better sort, were retained by the Earle; the rest unarmed, were licenced at their pleasure to depart.

The Duke in his flight was enforced to take a river, and in the midst of the stream forsook his horse, and swam to the other side: and by the benefite of the night escaped, first into *Scotland*, then into *Flaunders*, and lastly into *France*; from whence he never returned; his horse with his helmet & gauntlets with other abilliments of his were found; whereupon it was generally conceived

An.  
1388.  
H. 10.



An.  
1388.  
R. 10.

conceived that he was drowned; and as in great uncertainties it often happeneth, some affirmed they saw him die with the manner thereof, which other men, either glad to heare, or not too curious to search, did easily beleeve. His Trunk also was taken with certaine letters of the Kings therein, the contents whereof were for his present repaire to *London*, with all power and speed he could make, and the King would be there ready to die in his defence, so unskillfull was the Kings government, that to pleasure a few, he did not respect to give discontent to many. The Earle of *Suffolk* hereupon disguised, ed to *Callice*, from whence he never returned; he was a cruell spoiler, and a carelesse spender: in warre contemptible; in peace insupportable, an enemy to all counsell of others, and in his owne conceit wondrously wise, obstinately contentious, of a quick wit, and ready speech, both which he abused, to the cunning commending of himselfe, and crafty depraving of others; he was lesse loved, but more heard of the King, than the Duke, the more hurtfull man, and the more hatefull. The Duke being indeed guilty of no great fault, but the Kings excessive favour, in their course of good and bad fortune, both of them alike famous.

This Duke of *Ireland* was *Robert de Vere* the fourth of that name, and ninth Earle of *Oxford*; he married *Philip* the Daughter of *Ingeram de Guisnes* by *Isabel* his wife, the Daughter of *Edward* the third, from whom he was divorced, and took to his second wife *Lantegroine* a Bohemian, of an unknown parentage, but died without issue.

This *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolk* married *Isabel* Daughter of Sir *John Wingfield*, and had issue five sonnes, *Thomas*, *William*, *Michael*, *Richard*, and *John*, and three daughters, *Margaret* married to *William* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Elizabeth* and *Anne*.

The Archbishop of *York*, Justice *Tresilian*, and others of that faction ran every man like Conyes to their covert; yea, the King betook himself to the tower of *London*, and there made provision for his winter abode, having all his courses now crossed; first, by rashnesse in taking of armes, and afterward by cowardlinesse in maintaining them.

The Earle of *Darby* signified this successe to his associates by Letters, but without vaunting: his speeches also were moderate, rather extenuating than extolling his fact, but by stopping his fame it increased; men esteeming his high thoughts by his humble words, and his conquest of greater attempts by contempt of this. The Lords met and marched together to *London*, whither with forty thousand men they came upon Saint *Stephens* day, and first they shewed themselves in battell array, in the fields within view of the King then encamped in the Suburbs. The Maior of *London* and his brethren came forth and offered the Lords free entertainment within the Citie, but not accepted. They give liberall allowance of victuall and necessaries to the souldiers.

This discord seemed to draw to a dangerous distraction of the Commonwealth, the vanquished part being full of malice, and the Conquerours of presumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and certaine others of the neutralitie fearing the sequell, perswaded the King to come to a treaty with the Lords; but he made shew but of a slight regard he made of these dealings; let them (saith he) stay untill their numerous power have wearied them, and eat out their provision: and then we will finde a time to talke with them at my leasure. But the Lords suspecting the device, stopt all passages, and beset the



the *Thames* : generally protesting not to depart, without conference with the King face to face. The King having neither strength to resist, nor roome to scape, consented to a Treatie : And to that end desired the Lords to come to him into the Tower ; but they refused that place of meeeting, upon feare of false measure, untill the King permitted them to search diligently, and come as strongly as they thought meet ; then they came to the King well guarded, and after a few cold complements, and strange salutations, they laid before him his proceedings against them at *Nottingham*, his Letters which he sent to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his word, for the raising of armes against them : his agreement with the French King for the yeelding up of *Callice*, and other strong holds which he had in possession in those parts, with divers other points of dishonourable dealing, and negligent government. What should the King then have done or said? all these objections were so evident and evill, that there was no place left either for deniall or defence. Therefore ingenuously first with silence and patience, afterwards with teares and dejected countenance hee confessed his errors. And certainly the stiffe stomachs of the Lords, more relented to those lukewarme drops, than they would have done to his greatest violence. A meeting was concluded the next day at *Westminster*, there to treat of these and other necessary affaires of the Realme : Then the Duke and the rest of the Lords departed, except the Earle of *Darby*, who stayed supper with the King ; and all time kept him in his proposed resolution : But when he was also gone, some of the abusers of the Kings care, suggested that his going thither, was neither seemely nor safe, and would not onely bring to his person present danger and contempt but afterwards abasement, and abridgement to his authoritie ; whereupon the Kings minde turned. But the Lords being now nettled, feeling the Kings hand weake to governe the raynes, became the more violent, and sent him word that if he did vacillate with them, and not come according to agreement, that they would chuse a new King, who should be more respective to his Nobilitie. This peremptory message so terrified the King, that he not only went thither, but permitted the Lords to take their pleasure ; they caused him much against his liking to remove out of the Court, *Neuil* Archbishop of *York*, *Forde* Bishop of *Duresme*, the Bishop of *Chichester* the Kings Confessor, the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Harmyworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *Alberick Vear*, Sir *Baldwyne Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderbury*, Sir *John worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *John Lovell* taking caution of them for their appearance, at the next Sessions of Parliament. And certaine Ladies likewise were expelled the Court, and went under sureties, the Ladies, *Mowen*, *Moling*, *Poynings*, wife to Sir *John worth*. They put under arrest *Simon Burly*, *William Ellingham*, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trivet*, *James Bernis*, *Nicolas Dagworth*, and *Nicolas Bramber* Knights ; *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincolne*, and *Richard Morford* Clerkes ; *John Beacham* the Kings private Purse-bearer, *Nicolas Lake* Deane of the Chapell, and *John Blake* Barrister, were all committed to divers Prisons, to be forth-coming at the next Parliament.

The Parliament began at *London* (though the King used many meanes to dash or deferre the same) to which the Lords came, attended with full strength, pretending to repress any ryot that might arise, but in truth by terror thereof to draw all the mannage of affaires to themselves. The assembly continued from Candlemasse untill Whitsontide, with great feare of some, and hope of others, and expectation of all: There *Tresilian* by the Councell

An.  
1388.  
R.12.

An.  
1389.  
R.13.

An.  
1389  
R.13.

Proce-  
ding in  
the Parli-  
ament a-  
gainst Fa-  
vourites.

The mo-  
desty of  
the Earle  
of Darby.

An oath  
exacted  
from the  
King.

An.  
1390  
R.14.

Création  
of Barons  
by Letters  
Patents.

of the Lords against the Kings minde, was condemned to be drawne and hanged; which judgement was presently executed. The like passed against and upon *Nicolas Bramber*, *John Salisbury*, *James Barnes*, *John Beauchamp*, and *John Blake*, *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Falthorpe*, and *William Burgh*, which last foure were condemned to perpetuall exile, though they opposed not, but intermeddled by contraine, to subscribe their opinions against the Lords.

*Sir Simon Burly* Captaine of *Dover* Castle, was beheaded for conspiring to deliver the same to the French-men; he was infinitely proud, equall to the meanest in vertue, but in port and bravery not inferiour to any Duke: Divers others were put to death or exile, and some (as it hapneth when the reines of fury are let loose) without any great cause.

The Earle of *Darby* promoted no mans punishment, but did labour the life and liberty of many; insomuch that harsh language did passe betwixt the Duke of *Glocester* and him for so doing: whereby he purchased a favourable opinion amongst those of the contrary part. There was then also an oath exacted from the King (an example without president) to stand to the government of the Lords; and an Oath of the Subjects to be loyall to the King. The King in taking this Oath of the Lords, discovered his inward conceit by his overt countenance, looking pleasantly on those hee favoured, and frowningly on others; by which untimely discovery, hee made them more heedfull, and himselfe more hatefull: which was the occasion that afterward the revenge was prevented, which he so desired, and the mischief was procured which he so little feared. Lastly, a Subsidie was granted, and so the King comming (as it were) to capitulation, had allowance of the name of a King, and the Lords the authoritie and Majestie, so the contention for that time ceased.

The yeere following, the King began to take upon him more libertie and rule, and upon extreame disdain, that both his power, and pleasure were thus restrained, he bore a hard conceit against the partaking Lords, and having assembled them in the Councell Chamber, he demanded of the Lords, of what yeeres they tooke him to be; being answered that he was somewhat above one and twenty, then (replied he) I am of lawfull age, to make use of my birth-right, and to have the regiment in my owne hands; and therefore you doe me wrong to hold me still under tutelage, as though the condition of a King were harder than that of a Subject: This the Lords were unwilling to grant, and more unable to deny, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake to little or no purpose. Well said the King, since I am no longer an infant, I here renounce your rule, and take upon mee such free administration of the justice of this Realme, as the Kings thereof, my Predecessors, heretofore lawfully used; And then commanding the Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellour, to resigne the great Seale, which received, the King put it up, and departed out of the Chamber; but returning, delivered the same to *William of Wickam* Bishop of *Winchester*, thereby constituting him Lord Chancellour; other officers he likewise displaced, placing others in their roome, partly to manifest his authoritie, partly to satisfie his displeasure. He suspended *Glocester*, *Warwick*, and others from his privie Councell, and tooke in their roomes such as humoured him more, but honoured him lesse.

He (10. Octob. An. Regni sui 14.) Created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt* Baron of *Kedermaster* by letters Patents, before which time all Barons were chosen by Writ; it was suggested to the King, that the Duke of *Glocester* was raising a power against him, which the King in private questioned the

Duke

Duke about; but upon examination it was found a tale; the Duke would not have pocketted up such dangerous reports, but that the Kings either delighting to be tickled with such false rumours, or upon some particular desire to picke a quarrell to the Duke, upon his allegiance injoynes him not to expostulate the matter, or to question the reporters.

The Citizens of *Geneva* implore ayde against the Barbarians of *Africk*. The King sends a company of choyce souldiers under the conduct of *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, who with them passed into *France*, and there joyned with the French forces, when with might and minds united, they sayled together into *Africk*; at their arrivall the Barbarians were ready on the shore to impeach their landing; But the Earle commanded his Archers to beat the enemy from the shoare, while he landed his other forces. The French seconded the English; And so whilst both Companies contended, the one to be accounted an help, and the other to seeme to need no helpe: The enemies were forced to flye and leave the shore to the Christians. In this conflict were slaine and taken seven Dukes of the Barbarians, and an infinite number of common people. The Christians marched directly to *Tunis*, which they layd siege to, and in short time took; the English first skaled the wals, and reared thereon the English colours. In this Citie were taken and slaine, above foure thousand Barbarians; the Kings brother also was slaine, but hee himselfe fled into the Castle, which was strongly sited, well fortified and furnished with men and amunition sufficient for a competent number, for some good space. This they besieged by the space of sixe weeks, in which space they lost many of their men by sicknesse; The Barbarians also were distressed for want of beverage, having too too many unprofitable mouthes to consume it: They sent to the Christians to desire peace, offering them a great summe of money to depart their Countrey. This was accepted upon condition, that they might freely carry with them all their prey & prisoners, and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth surcease pillaging the coasts of *Italy* and *France*. This voyage had a prosperous and speedy end: The only service which the English and French performed together without breach of amitie or jarre in good quarter keeping.

About these times certaine discontentments grew betwixt the King and the *Londoners*, which set the favour of the one, and the faith of the other at great distance: The one was denying of the King the loane of one thousand pound (though offered to be lent by a *Lombard*, which received but a harsh language for his forwardnesse;) another came upon the necke of that thus: one of the Bishop of *Salisburies* servants, tooke a loafe of horse-bread out of a Bakers basket in the open street, and by the rude demand of the one, and the rough denyall of the other, choler was kindled, and the Bakers head bled: the neighbours would have stayed the Bishops man, but he fled into the Bishops house: The Constable came, and demanded a peaceable delivery of the offender: The Bishops men shut the gates and made resistance; then many threatned to fire their way, and began to use violence; but the Maior and Officers upon notice, presently repayed thither, and partly by perswasions, that it was not courage, but outrage that they shewed, and chiefly by their presence and authoritie, they repressed the multitude, and preserved the Kings peace for that time: hitherto the harme was but small, and all might have beene quieted without much adoe, had not the Bishop kindled the fuell of unkindnesse afresh; for the *Londoners* were not onely secretly suspected, but openly noted to be fa-

An.  
1396.  
R. 14.

An expedition in-  
to Barbary.



An.  
1392  
R.16.

The privileges of London seized in to the Kings hands, are abridged, and part restored.

A inter-venew betweene the Kings of France and England.

vourers and followers of *Wickliffe* but then new broched opinions, for which doing they were much maligned by the Clergie, especially by *John* Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, who made a grievous complaint hereof to *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord Chancellor, affirming that if upon every light pretence, the Citizens might be suffered in this sort to insult upon the Bishops, without reproofe and punishment, they would bring into hazard not only the dignitie & state, but the libertie also of the whole Church. Hereupon, they went to the King, and so incensed his displeasure against the Citizens (being prepared thereto by former provocations) that he was once resolved to make spoyle of the Citie, and utterly raze it: But being perswaded to some more moderation in revenge, he caused the Maior, Sheriffes, and Aldermen to be convented, who were at first resolved to have justified their innocencie; & to that end had plighted faith each to defend other; but there was falshood in fellowship, and one peached the other, and were all committed to prison, and then all the liberties of the Citie were seized and taken into his owne hands, ordaining, that no Maior should from thence forth be elected, but it should be at his pleasure to appoint a Warden: This Office was first conferred upon *Sir Edward Darlington*, who for his gentleness towards the Citizens, was shortly removed, and *Sir Baldwyn Radington*, a man of a more rugged disposition, placed in his roome. The King likewise induced by the Archbishop of *York*, did remove the termes and Courts of Justice from *London* to be kept at *York*, where they continued from Midsummer Anno 1393 untill *Christmasse* following, to the great hindrance of the Citizens of *London*. At last, the King at the earnest entreatie of the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, called the Londoners before him to *Windsor*, and there he caused all their privileges of the Citie, both old and new, to be brought forth, whereof he restored some, and restrained the rest that might prove any way advantagious unto him: Nevertheless the Londoners were not fully received to favour; neither recovered they at that time, the Title or dignitie of their Maior. But shortly after the King came to *London*, where the Citizens entertained him with such shewes of triumphs, & rich presents, as if it had beene the day of his Coronation; for they supposed with their courtesies and cost, to have removed his displeasure; yet were they not fully restored to their liberties againe, untill they had payed ten thousand pound. Thus did they manifest in themselves a strange diversitie of disposition, the Inferiours licentious to commir offence, and the Superiours patiently to endure punishment; having rashnesse and rage tempered with obedience: so were they at last easily punished, that could not at first possibly be ruled. The King passed over to *Calice*; the King of *France* came downe to *Arde*; betweene the two Townes, a place was appointed and tents erected for the Kings meeting, where after interchange of complement and expences, a cessation of armes betweene them for thirty yeeres was concluded: And the King espouseth *Isabel* the French Kings Daughter, of the age of eight yeeres. The Duke of *Glocester* was so offended, both with the match and truce, that he lost all patience, exclaiming that it was more meet to be in armes than amitie with the French, who being inferiour to the English in courage, did ever out-reach them in craft: and being too weak for warre, did oftentimes prevaile by peace. That the French Kings Daughter (being but a child) was an unmeet match for King *Richard*, as well for the disparitie of age, as for that the King had no issue by his first wife, and was not like to have any by this, except perhaps in his old age: But when the Duke saw his argu-

ments



ments would not availe ought, he suborned the Londoners to make petition to the King, that seeing there was peace with France, he would release them of the Subsidie, which was granted unto him in the last Parliament in respect of those warres to have beene maintained. This suite was by them importunately followed, and much perplexed the King, untill at length the Duke of *Lancaster* assured them, that the procuring of this peace, had spent and lost the King three hundred thousand pounds, wherewith they were pacified, though not well pleased.

*Guido Earle of Saint Paul*, was sent by King *Charles* to visit and salute in his name, King *Richard* and his *Queene Isabel*; To this Earle, the King did relate with what fervency *Glocester* contended to disturbe the peace, betwixt *England* and *France*, and that because his opinion was not therein followed, he moved the people to seditious attempts, bending himselfe wholly to maintaine discord in his own countrey, rather than not at all; he further reported what stiffe strife the Duke in former times had stirred, which howsoever they were done, yet as they were delivered, sounded harsh and odious: Whereupon, the Earle replied that the Duke was too dangerous a subject, to be permitted to live: That greatnesse was never safe, if once it grew excessive, and bold: That the King ought not to affect the poore commendation of Clemency with his owne perill; and that it touched him both in honour, to revenge the disgrace which he had by him formerly received: and in policie to prevent the dangers which he had some cause to feare. This set such an edge on the Kings displeasure, that from thenceforth he busied his braines about no one thing more than how to bring the Duke to his end. Whereupon, he begun to pry more narrowly into his deportment, to watch his words, to observe his actions, and to interpret them to the worst, framing unto himselfe many vaine, and needlesse feares: often would he to the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* complaine of the Duke of *Glocesters* avernesse in actions, and crossenesse in speech; whose answer therunto was, that their brother indeed was more vehement than they could commend, yet his fiercenesse was joyned with faithfulnessse, and his crossenesse proceeded from care, lest the Common-wealth should decrease either in honour or possessions: and therefore the King had neither cause to feare or dislike him. The King seemeth to approve of their answers, and to be satisfied, that *Glocester* was what they reported him. And in the meane time *Lancaster* and *Yorke* withdrew themselves to their private houses: The Duke of *Glocester* also went to *Plashey* in *Essex*. Upon this accidental separation, the King entred into Counsell with *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, his brother by the Mothers side, and *Thomas Moubray* Earle of *Nottingham*, how the Duke of *Glocester* might be suppressed; the cruelty which was but wavering (nay wanting in the King) was soone confirmed by evill advice, and being once thereby enclinable to blood, he did not faile either of lewd example of vile action to follow, or direction of cruell counsell what to do. The plot is contrived, and according thereunto the King and the Earle of *Nottingham* ride together into *Essex*, as though they went on hunting: When they were in the Forrest, the Earle with a selected troope made stay in the Forrest, while the King with a small and unsuspected traine came to *Plashey*, and there by the Duke of *Glocester* was lovingly entertained and freely feasted, pretending action of present returne; the King desires the Duke to accompany him to *London*. The Duke supposing that only to be intended indeed, which was in words and shew pretended, went to horse-backe with the King, with a very small

An.  
1393.  
R. 17.

An.  
1396.  
R. 20.

The Earle  
of S. Pauls  
advice to  
the King.

The Duke  
of Gloce-  
ster be-  
trayed,

An.  
1396  
R.20.

company, appointing the rest to follow him to *London*. They pleasantly rode together in familiar conference, untill they came neer the Earles ambuscado, and then the King suddenly put spurs to his horse; the Duke following easily, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, and with violence hurried to the *Thames* side, and there blindfolded, unvoluntarily shipped, and conveyed to *Callice*. The next day the King did invite the Earle of *Warwick* to dinner, and gave him gracious countenance, but in his return he was arrested and sent to prison; and so a double breach of hospitalitie is committed: when feasted by the Duke of *Glocester* the host is committed, and feasting the Earle of *Warwick* the guest is imprisoned. In the like manner was the Earle of *Arundel* and his sonne entrapped and imprisoned. In the *Ile of Wight*, the Common-people having notice of the apprehension of these three Noble men (whom they only affected) were in a great confusion, and there then wanted but a head, to draw them to commotion; every man murmured, and daring no further, stood waiting for one to lead them the way, every one being ready to follow, that which any one was loth to begin. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* upon information of these strange proceedings, gathered a strong Army, and came therewith to *London*, where they were readily received by the Citizens, contrary to the Kings expresse command. But this seemed to be a guard to themselves, rather than a regard to other. The King lay within foure miles of *London*, with a great power of armed men drawn out of *Cheeshire* and *Wales*; and to pacifie the people, caused to be proclaimed, That the foresaid Lords were not questioned upon any old displeasures, but for offences lately committed: and for which they should be orderly appealed by the course of Law, and receive open and legall tryall in the next Parliament presently to begin. The like message was sent to *London* to the Dukes, to whom the King made faith, for the safety of their persons, and indemnitie of their goods, and that nothing should be done without their privity and advice; all this was as rashly beleevved, as readily given out. Whereupon, the Dukes dissembled their feares, and dissolved their forces, in expectancy of what would ensue. The Parliament began at *London*, wherein Sir *John Busby*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, were principall agents for the Kings purpose. These were the Kings chiefe Schoolmasters, both of cruelty and deceit: they were proud, ignorant, and ambitious, & presuming on the Kings favour, professed themselves enemies to the antient Nobilitie, to the end, that being but Mushrumps lately start up, they might become famous, by maintaining contention with greater persons. At first, by their importunate travell, especially of Sir *John Busby*, who had procured himselfe to be made Speaker of that Parliament, all the Chartels of pardon formerly granted by the King, were in this Parliament annulled. The Prelates preceiving the intention of drawing divers of the Nobilitie, and others in question for their lives, did Constitute Sir *Henry Piercy* their Procurator, and depart the house, because they might not be present at judgement of blood. Then the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were arraigned for those offences for which they were formerly pardoned, and thereupon were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered; but the King so moderated the severitie of this sentence, that the Earle of *Arundel* was only beheaded, and the Earle of *Warwick* committed to perpetuall imprisonment in the *Ile of man*; It was thought a point of policie and peace, not to bring the Duke of *Glocester* to publike tryall, but secretly to put him to death, and so he was strangled betweene two feather-beds, by the appointment of *Nottingham* Earle

*Glocester*  
murdered, not  
executed.

Marshall

Marshall of Calice; which death howsoever it might be thought to him deserved, yet dying as he did, not legally called or heard, he may be truly said to dye guiltlesse. *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was likewise there accused for executing the Commission against *Michael de la Poole*; for which causes his temporalities were seized, his lands and goods forfeited, and he himselfe adjudged to exile, and to depart the Realme within six weekes. The Lord *Cobham* was banished into the Isle of *Gernsey*, and Sir *Reignold Cobham* condemned to death, not for any attempt against the King, but because he was appointed by the Lords to be one of his governors, in the eleventh yeere of his raigne: Now the King fallly supposing himselfe free from danger, and that the humour against him was cleane purged away, conceived more secret content than he could openly bewray, as more able to dissemble his joy than conceale his feare, being so blinded and bewitched with continuall custome of flatteries, that he perceived not, That the state of a Prince is never stablished with cruelty, nor confirmed by craft. The common people were much dismayd, having now lost their only helps, and hopes, as well for private affaires, as support of the publike state: The Plebeians were much incensed against the King: And to make their deaths seeme the more foule, the Earle of *Arundel* hath the reputation of a martyr, and Pilgrimages are made to the place of his interment; yea, it went for currant likewise, that his head was miraculously joyned to the body: This being generally affirmed, but without any ground; the Corps therefore are taken up ten dayes after the buriall; and finding the same to be fabulous, the King caused the ground to be paved, where the body was laid, publickly forbidding all further speeches thereof, afterward to be used: But this restraint raised fame the more, and they that if it had beene lawfull, would have beene silent, being now forbidden, could not forbear to talk.

The King Createth five Dukes: *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, was created Duke of *Hereford*; *Edward* first Earle of *Rutland*, was created Duke of *Ammerlo* and *Corke* in *Ireland*; *Thomas* *Holland* the Earle of *Kent*, was created Duke of *Southry*; Sir *John* *Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, was created Duke of *Exceter*; *John* Lord *Moubrey* Earle of *Nottingham*, was created Duke of *Norfolk*. This Title of Honour long time after the Conquest, amongst the Normans (whose chiefeest Rulers had no greater Title) was accounted too high for a subject to beare: the forme of the *R.P.* being framed by the Conquerour, far from equalitie of all, & yet the King exempted from alike eminency of any. The King likewise created *Margaret*, daughter and heire of *Thomas* *Brockerson*, Countesse of *Norfolke*, Dutchesse of *Norfolke*; *John* *Baufort* sonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, Earle of *Sommerfet*, was created Marquesse of *Sommerfet*; *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, was created Earle of *Glocester*; *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, was created Earle of *Westmerland*; *William* Lord *Scroope*, sonne of *Richard* Lord *Scroope*, Lord Chancellor, was created Earle of *Worcester*; Sir *Thomas* *Piercy* Vice-chamberlaine, was created Earle of *Worcester*; Amongst whom was made a distribution of a great part of the Lands of the Duke of *Glocester*, and of the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, supposing by this double bountie of Honour, and meanes to maintaine it, to have tied them with a double obligation of duty and affection; but hired friends for the most part are seldome either satisfied, or sure, but like the Ravens in *Arabia*, that full gorged, have a tuneable sweet record, but empy, serich horribly.

The Duke of *Hereford*, as it were to raise his desires to his dignities, either

An.  
1396  
R.20.

The Earle  
of *Arundel*  
supposed a  
martyr.

An.  
1397  
R.21.  
Five Dukes  
created.



An.

1397.

R. 21.

Herefords  
complaint  
of the go-  
vernment  
to Norfolk.

ther upon the disdaine of the undeserved favours and advancement of some persons about the King, or disliking that his Sovereign should be so abused and abased by such, or else to make known his own sufficiency, in matters of controlement, and direction, one day having familiar conference with the Duke of *Norfolke*, complained that the King too much undervalued the Princes of the blood Royall and much discouraged the rest of the Nobilitie from intermedling in publike affaires. That in steed of these, he was wholly guided by a few new-found, and new-fangled Favourites, of dunghill-breed, of base qualities, having no sufficiency, either for Counsell for peace, or courage for warre, who being of all men both the most dishonest, and most unable, which hatefulnesse of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally despised in all the Realme, whereby the Honour of the Kings person was much blemished; for ungrate & ungracious adherents to a King, are alwayes the path to hatred and contempt. Secondly, the safety of his estate might be endangered; for extraordinary favours to men of apparant weake or bad desert, doth breed insolency in them, and discontent in others, two dangerous humours in a Common-wealth. Thirdly, the dignitie of the Realme was much impayred, whose valour and successe being guided by the ill successe of such unluckie Leaders, stood never in the like doubts of danger and distresse, as now it did, so that matters of peace were tumultuous and uncertaine, and achievements in warre were never brought to honourable conclusions: And that it was high time that the King should look unto them, for the Nobilitie grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people were fallen into a discontented murmuring. And this he affirmed, he said, not for any grudge to any particular person, but for griefe for the publicke grievance, and good will to his Sovereigne, and therefore desired the Duke, who was one of the Kings Cabinet counsell, to discover unto him these deformities and dangers, that by repaying the one, he might happily repell the other. These words procured to the Duke of *Hereford*, both great offence, and great glory. At the delivery whereof the Duke of *Norfolke* made shew of good liking, well approving them, and made promise of sincere dealing therein. And had they afterward by him beene as faithfully related, and by the King as friendly taken, as they were freely and friendly intended, many mischiefs had beene avoided; but both failed. For though the Duke of *Norfolke* had formerly sided with the Lords: yet afterwards, affecting rather to be lifted amongst great, than good men, he made sale of his Honour, with his honesty, to nurse his pleasure, and hold grace with the King; wherein he was so seated, that the murdering of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the execution of the Earle of *Arundel*, was committed principally to his care and charge; and now the more to winde himselfe into the Princes favour, he exaggerated the late relation, and intermixed with some truth, many lies, making the truth seeme worse than it was; whereby the King not enduring the searching of his sores by any private observer, endeavoured rather to punish the boldnesse, than examine the truth of these reports, his eares being so duld with continuation of Flatteries, that he accounted all too sharp, that was but favourie, approving only that which was presently pleasant, though afterwards it proved most poisonous. This observation from hence may arise, that no strange accident doth at any time happen, but it is some way, either foreshewn, or foretold. But because these warnings are oftentimes either not marked, or misconstrued, or contemned, the events are accounted inevitable, and the premonition vaine. The King being touched with one Duke

Ar.  
1397  
R. 21.

Duke, and tickled by another, was not at first resolved what to do. At length he convokes the Dukes before his Councell, demands of *Norfolke* if he would publikly avouch what he had secretly suggested: *Norfolke* thinking it at that time no point of wisdom, to shrink from, or shuffle in his tale, repeated with a confident brow, all whatsoever he had formerly related. But the Duke of *Hereford* who could not be dashed out of countenance, when he was in a good cause, after a short pause, as seeming rather amazed at the strangeness of the matter, than abashed at the guilt, humbly thanked the King that he had not given over-hasty credit to matters of such tender touch, desiring him to continue yet awhile, the respight of his displeasure, and to reserve his judgement from prejudicating. Then he orderly repeates the truth of the passages in the primer conference, the occasion and the end thereof; & what was related more than what he now repeated, he resolutely denies, affirming it falsly surmised by his adversary, either upon malice to picke a quarrell, or sycophancy to picke a thank, for which he pronounced him a false, unworthy forger of scandalous, and seditious lyes, thereby treacherously machinating to seduce the King, to destroy his Nobility, and to raise some disturbance in the Kingdome; which (by his Soveraignes permission) he offered to justifie against him, by order of the field; *Norfolkes* stomach not inured to undergo scornes, could not digest these termes of disgrace, but stiffly stood in defence of his relation; and for the maintaining thereof, accepted and craved the combat. The King made shew as though hee would have otherwayes quieted the contention; but when the Dukes persevered resolutely, to demand the tryall by Duell, and that thereupon they had flung downe their gages: The King gives way thereunto, assigns the place at *Coventry*, the time, the month of August following, against which time preparation was made accordingly. At the day prefixed, the parties appeared, well associated with friends and allies: The Duke of *Anmerle* was appointed for that time high Constable; the Duke of *Surry* high Marshall, who came to the lists honourably attended in futable liveries, each of their servants carrying tip-staves, for cleering the field and ordering thereof. About the time of prime, the Duke of *Hereford* mounted upon a white Courser, his Caparison of blew and greene Velvet, embroydered thick with Swannes and Antelops, armed at all points with his sword drawne, approacheth the lists: To whom the Constable and Marshall addressed themselves, making demand who he was: He answered, I am *Henry Duke of Hereford*, and am come to do my devoyre, against *Thomas Moubrey Duke of Norfolke*, as a traytor to God, the King, the Realme, and mee. And then taking his oath upon the Evangelists that his quarrell was right and just, he desired liberty to enter; which granted, he put up his sword, pull'd downe his Bever, signed himselfe on the fore-head with the Crosse, taketh his Speare, and passing the Barriers, dismounted and sate downe in a chayre of green Velvet, placed in a Travers of greene and blew Velvet, at one end of the lists. King *Richard* enters the field with great pompe, accompanied with the Earle of *Saint Paul*, who came purposely out of *France* to see the Combat. The King was attended with all his Nobles and a guard of ten thousand men in armes, to prevent all sudden and sinister tumults. His Majestie being seated, a king at Armes makes proclamation in King *Richards* name; that no man, except such as were appointed to marshall the field, should touch any part of the Lists, upon paine of death; which ended, another Herald cryeth: Behold here *Henry of Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford* Appellant, who is entred into the

An.  
1397.  
R:21.

the Lifts royall, to doe his devoyte, against *Thomas Moubray* Duke of *Norfolke*, upon paine to be accounted false and recreant.

When the Duke of *Norfolk* mounted the Caparisons of his horse of crimson Velvet, embroydered with lions of silver, and Mulberry trees proper: taking his oath before the Constable & the Marshall, that this quarrell was just and true, entred the field, Crying alowd, God aide the right; and then lighted from his horse, placing himselfe in a chaire of crimson Velvet, opposite at the other end of the Lifts. The Marshall viewed their Speares, and carryed the one himselfe to the Duke of *Hereford*, and sent the other by Sir *Alberick Trussell* to the Duke of *Norfolke*: This done, Proclamation was made to addresse themselves to the encounter. The Dukes speedily mounted, and closed their Bevers, casting their Speares into their rests: when the Trumpets sounded, and the Duke of *Hereford* put his horse forward. But before *Norfolk* stirred, the King cast downe his Warder, and the Combatants had their Speares taken from them, and returned to their Chaires, where they remained by the space of two houres, whilst the King was in Councell: At last, Sir *John Bonray* (after silence proclaymed) read their doome, which was, that in asmuch as the Dukes Appellant and Defendant had honourably appeared in the royall Lifts, and were not only ready, but forward to detain the Combat: For that this was a businesse of great Consequence, for the avoyding the effusion of Christian blood, the King by the advice of his Councell, had decreed that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within fifteene dayes, depart the Realme, and within the space of ten yeeres not to returne, upon paine of death, without the Kings speciall leave first obtained: Then upon a second Proclamation, the Secretary pronounced the decree of Banishment against the Duke of *Norfolke*, for that he had used seditious words, whereof he could produce no prooffe; & that the King should take the revenewes of his land, untill he was satisfied of such summes of money, as he had received out of the Kings Coffers, for the payment of the garrison of *Callice*: And he further said, That the King commanded upon paine of his high displeasure, that no man from thenceforth should presume to petition the King in behalfe of either of those Dukes, to alter this Decree. The sentence thus read, the King called the exiles before him, and took of them a solemne oath, that they should never converse together, nor willingly come into each others company, lest common discontent should draw first reconciliation, and after desire of revenge. But this policie is ever weake to prevent such purposes; for oathes are often spurned aside, when they lye like rubbes, to stop the way to honour, or revenge: Therefore the Princes of this Realme have with more safetie for the most part, abolished the use of abjuration, and either by death extinguish the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders from entring into desperate and dangerous attempts, which men in miserie and disgrace, with more vehemency begin, and with more obstinacy continue. When the *Samnites* had so enclosed the *Romane* Legions, that they had neither space to fight, nor meanes to flye, and without fight had enforced them to yeeld: they sent for advice to one *Pontius*, an ancient Ruler of their State, what to doe with them: His answer was, that the *Romans* should be permitted to depart without losse, or derision. But this not pleasing those that were either cruell or covetous, *Pontius* was the second time consulted with: whose answer then was, That the *Romans* should be generally slaughtered, and not one spared: This contrarietie of advice, brought *Pontius* into suspition of dorage; which he suspecting, came in person, and maintained both



both to be advantageous: The first by an unexpected favour, might provoke the *Romans* to a perpetuall friendship; the second would defer the warres for many yeeres: The third, Counsell (quoth he) there cannot be given, that may be safely followed; yes, say the *Sammies*, to grant them their lives, but to take away their armes, and bootie. This is a way, replies old *Romulus*, which can neither win friends, nor weaken enmities, but may increase fury, but not diminish force; So that that course of punishment is out of course, which doth neither reclaime the minde of man, nor restraine the might from mischievous endeavours.

The Duke of *Norfolke* with great grieve and perturbation of minde, now proving it to be true, that Greatnesse abused by whispering untruths, draweth if discovered, certaintie of destruction, departed into *Almaine*; and from thence travelled to *Venice*, where shortly after he ended his dayes. It is observed that this Duke was banished the same day of the yeere, wherein the Duke of *Torkeby* by his contriving, was strangled at *Callice*.

The Duke of *Hereford* tooke his leave of the King at *Eltham*, where foure yeeres of his exilement were strooke off. The Dukes deportment, was with that moderation, that in his countenance he made shew neither of sorrow or stupiditie, and at his departure let not fall any, either intemperate, or unseemely syllable. The Commons much lamented his departure, not sparing to exclaime, that it was against the Law of Armes, the custome of the Realm, and all Justice, that he should bee exiled, who had honourably endeavoured to maintaine his appeale, according to the law of the field. Their affection was the more excessive, by reason the ground of his speech was against those that the people hated, and he was the only surviour of the Popular faction. The Duke of *Hereford* sayleth to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*, where he was honourably received by the King of *France*; and in short time found that favour with him, that he was offered for wife, the onely Daughter of *John Duke of Berry*, Vncle to the *French King*. But the King of *England*, upon notice thereof, made such meanes that the Marriage was stoppt.

Many things hapned this yeere, which were interpreted to presage the revolt of the people; which hapned the yeere following; observation likewise was taken, that when King *Richard* brought his first wife with him out of *Beanne*, she was no sooner on shore, but such a tempest arose, as the like thereof had not beene scene in many yeers before, wherein many ships, and amongst them the ship the Queene came in, was cast away. The like storme, and the like losse did betide, when the the King brought his second wife out of *France*. Many prodigies are likewise storied to appeare about these times, both strange and fearefull; I dare not avouch them all to be true, neither will I detract all truth from such things so antiently reported: Many are perswaded that these things which are fatally allotted, though they are unavoidable, yet are they some times fore-showne; not so much that we may prevent them, as that we should perpare our selves against them.

About this time died *John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*, who was buried on the North side of the high Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul* in *London*; he was a man advised, and wary, liking better safe courses with reason, than happy by hazzard; neither unrespective, nor ambitiously carefull of his owne glory: He carried himselfe towards the King in termes honourable enough for a moderate Prince, & yet not so plausible as an uncollected man might desire, whereby nothing hapned unto him extraordinary, either in prejudice or preferment: This *John of Gaunt* (so named of the place) where

An.

1397

R. 21.

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An. 1398. R. 22. 1 he was borne) fourth sonne of *Edward* the third, did write in his stile, *John* sonne to the King of *England*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Lancaster*, Earle of *Richmond*, *Darby*, *Lincolne*, *Leicester*, and high Constable of *England*: he married three Wives; *Blanch* Daughter and co-heire of *Henry* first Duke of *Lancaster*, by whom he had issue:

*Henry*, afterwarwards King of *England*.

*Philip*, married to *John* King of *Portugal*.

*Elizabeth*, married to *John* Holland Duke of *Exceter*.

2 His second wife was *Constance*, daughter and one of the Co-heires of *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom he had issue *Katherine*, married to *Henry* son of *John* King of *Spaine*.

3 His third Wife, wns *Katherine* daughter of *Payne* Rurt King of *Armes*, and Widow of Sir *Otes Swinford* Knight, by whom he had issue:

*John* Bewford, Earle of *Somerset*, and Marquesse *Somerset*.

*Henry* Bewford, Bishop of *Winchester*.

*Thomas* Bewford, Earle of *Dorset*, and Duke of *Exceter*.

*Ioane*, married first to *Ralph* Nevill Earle of *Chester*, and afterwards to *Robert* Ferrers, Lord of *Ousley*; all these Children, though borne before espousall by a Bull from *Rome*, were made legitimate. After his death, the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, did lineally descend to his eldest sonne, the Duke of *Hereford*. But (as the nature of man is prone to hate those whom he hath injured) the King seized all the lands, and goods of the deceased Duke, and endeavoured to perpetuate the banishment of the young Duke: revoked the Letters Patents granted and consented unto, whereby his Attornies had beene enabled to sue out his *Ouster le maine*, and Livery of those lands, which during his exile, might fall unto him, his homage being formerly concluded upon, to be respited at a reasonable fine. But these violent proceedings were rather a meanes to provoke, than prevent mischief.

*Edmond* Duke of *York*, the Kings only Uncle that survived, who hitherto had enforced his patience to endure many things against his liking; now either in disdaine of this indignitie, or distrust of his owne safety, and the Realmes disturbance; he with the Duke of *Anmerle* his sonne retired themselves to his house at *Langley*. At this time the whole frame of the State was much shaken, and matters of greatest consequence hung but on slender threads: The King was plunged in pleasure and sloth, by whose example others also gave themselves over to ease and luxurie; whereby cowardice and effeminacie crept in: and shipwracke was made both of manhood and reputation. The chiefeft affaires of State, had been for a long time ordered according to private respects; whereby the Common-wealth lost both the fat and the favour, and seemed not at seasons, and by degrees, but with a maine course and at once, to be ruinate and fall. The North parts were many times canvased, and by small, yet often losses, almost consumed by the Scots, who had taken many Castles and Townes, and defaced all the countrey, with slaughter and spoyle. The South parts were divers times pillaged by the French, and in *France* many strong holds were lost for want of convenient succour; it was much about these times, that there was a secret pact renewed betweene the two Kings, for the delivery of *Callice*, and other pieces thereabout to the French. But the performance thereof was resisted, both by the Court and Councell. *Ireland*, which in the time of *Edward* the third, was kept in order and awe, and the people were taught Religion and civility, and well reclaimed, yeelding to the Kings Coffers thirtie thousands pounds per

*annum*, was suffered now to be loose and licentious, and thereby the people growne rude and untractable, so that now the King in stead of receiving, was enforced to be at the charge to expend thirty thousand pounds yearly. Many succours were every day sent abroad, but so scatteringly, and at such unseasonable times, and often so ill accommodated, that they were occasions rather of losse than help, wherupon the King endeavoured some expedition in person, with great preparation, and much charge, but his reputation being once cryed downe, whatsoever therein succeeded well, was attributed to his Commanders, but all misfortunes only to him on the other side; if any exploit were well achieved by any of the Nobilitie, it received misconstruction by the Court Parasites, and by them (to whom Militarie vertue was altogether unpleasant) so extenuated, depraved, or envied, that it seldome times received recompence or praise, yea sometime it drew on suspicion and danger, it being whispered to the King, that to command well in the field, and to be skilfull and valiant, was a vertue meerely to bee appropriated to a Prince, and that it was perilous to have the name of a private subject famous for such experience in every mans mouth: whereby few sought to raise their fortunes by vertue and valour, when the way was easier for to rise by humouring the Prince. Affaires of State in peace, were managed by those of weakest apprehension, by whose corrupt or ignorant counsell, the overthrow of the well-minded Nobilitie, was many times attempted, and at the last wrought. The profits and renewes of the Crowne were let to farme, the King making himselfe Landlord of the Realme, challenging no greater priviledge by his Raigne, but a dissolute and uncontroled life. Great summes of money were by new-found and unwonted meanes every day rather exacted, than voluntarily granted from the Subject: whereof no good did ensue, but the Kings private pleasures maintained, and his unworthy Favourites advanced: To these he was beyond expectation too liberall to continue, for which he was inforced to borrow, begge, and extort in many places, but purchased not so much love by the one, as he procured thereby hatred from the other, over and above Tenths and Fifteenes, which were many times gathered double in one year, strange impositions were devised and put in practise, sometimes exacting twelve pence *per poll*, of every subject throughout the Realme, sometimes of every religious person, male and female, *vi. s. viii. d.* of every secular Priest as much. Under the favourable terme of benevolence, he drew from the people great summes of money, he borrowed so much upon Privie Seales, that no man of abilitie could escape his loane, but seldome and to few was repayment made. He sent certain Commissioners, Bishops and Lords temporall, to all Sheirs and Corporations within the kingdom, to make known the Kings heavie displeasure against them, for having abetted the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, which without due acknowledgement of the offence, and submission to his mercy, could not be pacified: Whereupon the chiefe in every Shire, and all Corporations, made their acknowledgement and submission, under their hands and seales: for the redemption whereof, and for procuring of the Kings favour, insupportable fines were payd, and all so impoverished, that few or none were able to subsist, none to resist. Strange and unheard-of oathes were obtruded upon the Commons for performance of what was under their hands and seales promised by them, nay to adde affliction to affliction, blanck Charters were sealed, and delivered to the Kings use, wherein whatsoever he pleased, might be inserted. These courses were quite contrary to the go-

An.  
1399.  
R. 23.



Ar.  
1399  
R. 23.

vernment of *Henry* the second, who though borne a stranger, and comming young to the Crowne, and in a scarce settled time, maintained great warres, wonne large Dominions, more than ever were hereditary to any his Predecessors, had many children, and alwayes maintained a Kingly port, yet never demanded Subsidie of his subjects: neverthelesse he left nine hundred thousand pounds besides jewels and Plate of inestimable value in his Treasurie, having in all his life-time held a good correspondency betwixt his care and respect towards his subjects, and of their obedience and loyaltie to him. But this King bearing a heavie hand over his people, they beare an hard heart towards him, and he being shallow in judgement, not of sufficiency enough to cover his vices, but with, or by a cloke of seeming powerfull, at length drave then many to revolt, whose resolution was rather to run the hazzard of ruine by rebellion, than to continue safety with slavery, and did but awaite occasion to begin, which was thus offered. The King received advertisement out of *Ireland*, that the wild Irish had massacred all his garrison souldiers, and barbarously slaine *Roger Mortymer* Earle of *Marsh* (who had bene declared heire to the Crowne) and that they proceeded with that cruelty that wrath and rage being master of the field could incite, or cowardly conquerours practise. This losse being great was much increased by the report of the ill-affected multitude. The King callath his Councell, where it is much debated, whether were more convenient, for the King in person to goe, or to send his Generall; it was disputed, that wholly to subdue *Ireland*, stood neither with possibilitie nor pollicy, for if it were quiet in possession, the governour might grow to that greatnesse, that hee might make himselfe absolute Monarch thereof, and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by feeble enemies, than uncertaine by over-potent friends. But how should those bogges and woods, which are more impregnable than the best fortified Townes in other Countreies, be compassed or conquered? And if the purpose were only to repressse those Savage people, the warre was not so waighty, as should draw the King in person into the field: And therefore it was more convenient for him to stay in some place, from whence he might shew his readinesse, than to be present indeed. But others were of opinion (and that not without good ground) that to subdue, and people *Ireland*, was a matter neither difficult or dangerous, but acceptable and honourable to God and the King: For this Realme of *England* is truly storied to have been as unpassible for bogs and woods as *Ireland*. But the Conquerours kept not their souldiers idle in garrison, whereby the bodies might be made diseased: and so unfit for labour, or hard travell. But they held as well them, as the Natives, continually in action, either in exercising their armes, or in raising fortifications, or making mightie high wayes, or else in drayning and piling of bogs; by which meanes the countrey was made habitable, and the wayes passible, and the people found it better to preferre subjection with plentie, before liberty with penurie. That the *Romanes* kept many more large Territories in quiet Obedience (so long as there was amitie amongst themselves) without either feare or danger of popular Governours, either by severing them into divers small Provinces, or assigning to every province divers Officers of inferiour ranks, as Lieutenants and Provosts, whereof one was able to restraine the other, or by making their offices but annuall: But chiefly by retayning their wives and children, as pledges of their dutifull obedience. That the danger was the more to be feared, lest a weake enemy, whilst he is contemned, should gather strength, and bee able to stand up-  
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on termes of withstanding: That it was a pittifull policie for assurance of peace, to make all waste like a wilderness, and instead of men to have domination of nothing but trees and beasts. That by so doing, the King should lose the revenew of a fruitfull Countrey, and the benefit of wealthy subjects, which are the surest treasure of a Prince: That hereby also the Majestie of his estate would be impayred: For (as *Solomon* saith) the honour of a Kingdome consisteth in the multitude of subjects. That the Countrey being unfurnished of people, was open to all Nations invasion, and a great meanes to invite forraigne and unsent-for guests. Lastly, if none of these respects would move, the King was bound in conscience to reduce those wilde people to the true knowledge and worship of God, who did then either profanely contemne him, or superstitiously serve him.

These reasons so prevailed with the King, that hee gathered a mightie Army, with intention to go in person into *Ireland*; but all his provision was at the Subjects charge. And where in times of danger, a discreet Ruler when necessitie shall enforce his absence, will give least cause of distaste unto his people: This King in peace having beene no provider for warre, was forced to offend, when he should have beene most carefull to win their favour. About the Feast of *Pentecost* he set forward on his voyage with many men, but few souldiers; he carried with him all his Treasure, jewels, plate, and king-ly robes; there went with him also the Duke of *Anmerle* and the Duke of *Excester*, with divers of the Nobles, & many Mitred Prelates, amongst whom was the Abbot of *westminster*, a chiefe favourite. He also tooke with him the sons of the Duke of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, whose favourers he chiefly suspected. When hee came to *Bristoll* (whether upon some matter, or meere malice, at first, it is uncertaine;) it was put into the Kings head, That *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, with some other, intended some disloyall attempt against him: And therefore did not render their service unto him in this expedition. Hereupon he by his Pursevant commanded the Earle with all his power, that could conveniently be raised, to come unto him in person to *Bristoll*; The Earle by letter returneth answer, desiring thereby his Majestie to take it into his more serious cogitation, that it was inconvenient for the *Irish* service, to draw men from such remote places, in regard the rebels were neither so many, nor so mightie, but that the King had strength sufficient at hand to suppress them: That it was dangerous to disfurnish the North parts of their strength, thereby to offer opportunitie to the *Scottish* borderers (who were uncertaine friends in extremitie, and assured to be enemies upon any such advantage) to make an inrode; therefore craved to be excused at that time for not attending.

The King conceiving his command in this to be contraried, yea contemned, would not stand to reason the matter, though he had small reason (things being as they were) not to have done so: but in an unadvised heat, proclaimes the Earle & all his Confederates Traytors, and commands all their lands and goods to be seised to his use; the Earle much stomacking this disgrace, makes good the information, and breaks out into open hostilitie, whilst the King proceeds in his voyage for *Ireland*, where upon his first arrivall, all things succeeded prosperously, the King obtaining many victories, yet without battell. For the *Irish* not being under one government, were divided into many factions, so that seldome three sects joyned their strength, & study to one point; so that whilst they fought one by one, they were all easily subdued or slaine.

In the meane time, some of the Nobilitie of *England*, with most of the

Ac.  
1399.  
R.23.

An.  
1399  
R.23.

common people groaning under the burthen of their oppression, taking advantage of the Kings absence, conspired to cut off that authoritie, that would not be confined, and to bestow it upon some other, who was likely to repaire what *Richard* had ruined, resolving if they fell short of their wish, they would sell that with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace they could not enjoy. The only man upon whom they all pitcht, was *Henry Duke of Hereford*; not upon any motion or desire of his; but because hee was of the blood Royall, and next heire male by descent, to the succession of the Crowne, of whose valour and vertue, honourable prooffe had beene made: The only surviving man of qualitie, that had stood up against the King for the behoofe of the Common-wealth, for which hee had suffered much, both in honour and state. The attempt pleased, as possible to prove, and of necessitie to be followed. Letters are secretly dispatched to the Duke, whose speedy returne into *England* they importune: affirming that aswell for the publicke good of the Realme, as for their owne particular safeties, they were forced to use force against their King: solliciting him to be pleased but to make the head, and they would furnish the body with an able Army, to expell the misgoverned King from his unbefitting government, and to settle the Crowne upon his head, who was more apt and able to manage the same: That they would not only helpe him, in bare wishes, and advice, but would joyne hearts and hands to adventure their lives, so that the perill should be common to all, the glory only his.

These Letters were cunningly compiled, and closely conveyed, by such as had more than common interest in the Dukes respect. Amongst whom was principall, *Thomas Arundel*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the sonne of *Robert Earle of Arundel*, and *Warren*, who had beene first Bishop of *Ely*, and then Archbishop of *Yorke*, and lastly of *Canterbury*, who being amongst others the Bishops in the Higher House of Parliament, at what time the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earle of *Warwick*, and the Earle of *Arundel*, the brother to the Archbishop, were convented, at least questioned, because Clergie men, by the Canons are commanded not to be present at any tryall, or judgement of life and death, he with the rest, as they before had used, departed the house, upon this occasion being absent, he with his brother were condemned of High Treason, and after his brothers execution, the Archbishop was banished the Realme, his goods forfeited and seized, and his place conferred upon *Roger Walden*. The Archbishop with his Confederates by severall wayes, and in strange disguises came to *Paris*, and in the house of one *Clomigey* (where the Duke sojourned) met together, where having obtained privacie and silence, the Archbishop used these words, or the like in sense.

Archbish.  
*Arundel's*  
speech to  
*Henry*.

Wee are sent unto you (right high and most noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and Peeres, and people of our kingdome, who groane under the burthen of tyrannous oppression; Yet not to vindicate injuries against our Sovereigne, upon private wrongs or displeasures, nor upon desperate discontent, to set the State in combustion, to put the King in feare, the kingdome into a flame, nor to second the ambitious designs of any particular person: But to open unto you the deformities and decays of our disaffected Estate, and to implore your ayde, for the stay of the precipitate ruine of the same. The remembrance of our honourable achievements, and your deserved reputation, thereby gained aswell in others as in our countrey, doth nothing else but make the remembrance of our present basenesse bitter unto us. Our victorious Armies, have heretofore beene



An.  
1399.  
R.23.

beene famous and renowned, not only in the Islands adjoyning, but in all parts of Europe, yea in Asia and Africa against the Infidels and Barbarians, so that all Christian Princes have been willing to embrace our friendship, or unwilling to provoke us to hostilitie. But now both Welch and Scots, whom we have so often beate; and brought upon their knees, doe not only scorne and deride us, but the weake and miserable Irish have shaken off their shackles, and glutted and enriched themselves with our blood and spoyle; with these we are now enforced to fight, not for glory, but for leave but to live, in so much as that we are pittied by our friends, flouted by our enemies, and hated of our selves. It is confest that King Richard hath led and sent great powers into these Countreys, but after such a manner that they have much wasted the kingdome with their maintenance; but have by armes neither relieved friends, or revenged us on our enemies. And no marvell, since all our discreet and diligent Commanders (the sinewes and nerves of an Army) are either beheaded, banished, or buried in disgrace and obscuritie, and the managing of Martiall affaires is committed (without respect of abilities or desert) to the conduct and counsell of such as can best comply with the Kings variable disposition. Amongst whom antient Nobilitie is esteemed but as a vaine bubble: vertue, and sufficiencie, are but a trap to ensnare their possessours. It is a griefe to me to speak it, but it helpeth not to hide that which every one seeth. Our Ancestors lived in the highest pitch of perfect liberty; and we of dejected servilitie, being used not like subjects but abjects, yea, flat slaves, not to one onely unrespective Prince, but to many his proud and presumptuous favourites, not alwayes the same, but every day fresh ones: And no sooner have we contented one, but new greedy stomachs are provided, whose extortion and exactions have devoured more by bribes than the enemy with the sword. What unwonted, nay what unheard-of projects are now invented, and daily practised, without either measure or end, yea oftentimes without need: but if any bee, it proceedeth rather from riotous expence, than necessary charges: great summes of money are every minute pilled, and pulled from the honest-minded subject, to bee unprofitably wasted upon prodigall spend-thrifts; and if any man impugne these most insupportable taxations, or but speak in the defence of the liberty of a Subject: Then either by surmised imputation of capitall crime, or by aggravation of small causes, by far-fetched circumstances, and strayned constructions, or else by open crueltie and force, his life or libertie, or both, is called in question; it were too tedious, too odious, too frivolous, to produce particular examples. The lamentable losse of your noble Uncles, and other honourable friends, and your own present estate, cannot easily be forgotten; nay, I presume, there is no man of ranke, or fashion within the Realme, who either in his owne person, or children, or in his deere friends, or neere allies, but may easily finde that no man hath certaintie to enjoy the safeguard of his goods, or the use of his liberty, or suretie of his head: but rich men of the one, and good men of the other, are continually in hazzard. This is our case; but what is the remedy? we have patiently suffered, and sued humbly for ease; But our patience hath procured increase of punishment, and our complaints more stripes: By the one our livings, by the other our lives are daily devoured. Now therefore are we unwillingly compelled, to endeavour to shake from our shoulders this too too uneasie yoke, and submit our lives and estates to the command of some more moderate and worthy person, not so much for the griefe of our miseries which are past, nor for the paine of our present distresses, as for

An.  
1399  
R.23.

fear of worse dangers, which are most likely to follow the chiefe of the ancient Nobilitie. The King hath cut off the chiefe of the Nobilitie; and the Commons he hath pared to the quick; and still he harroweth the Countrey, as if now but newly conquered; whereby our nakednesse is bayed to our Adversaries, and wee are made utterly unable, either to recover that which is lost, or retaine that little that is left. To whom shall we now complaine? from whence shall we seeke succour? from whence expect ayde? you (royall Sir) are only he, which in right should, in wisdom can, and in goodnesse (we presume) will relieue us: to the King in blood you are the neerest, to us in love dearest, you ought therefore to undertake the rule of that that his weaknesse cannot well weild. Your yeeres are well staid, from the loose vagaries of youth, and have beene so spent, that your former actions have made sufficient prooffe of your full abilities for government of greatest charge; nothing therein by you past, needeth excuse, and it is vaine to feare what is to come: Your paines and perill formerly undergone for the good of your Countrey, putteth us all in good hope, that in this extremitie you will not forsake us: we are in a leaky ship, ready to sinke, in an old house ready to fall, and therefore humbly call and crave for your help to succour and save us: now or never show your selfe to favour your Countrey-men, and free us; free your selfe, and the whole State from dangers, and decayes, by taking into your hands the Scepter and sway thereof, and to reduce the now tyrannous government to a Princely freedome, in combining the Soveraigntie in one with the libertie of all. Omit not this occasion, but make your vertue and valour appeare, by relieving most miserable wretches, from their unmercifull oppressours. This we are constraigned to offer, and intreate; this is both honourable for you to accept, and easie to performe, being a taske worthy your toyle: And so much the rather, since no Prince by any people, hath beene desired with greater affection, nor shall more dutifully be obeyed than your royall selfe.

Earle  
Henrics  
answer.

This speech the Duke heard with attention, and entertained with great moderation and modestie; his answer to that part that touched the King, was respective and well tempered, rather lamenting his weaknesse, than blaming his malice; as touching himselfe, he spake so soberly, that he seemed rather worthy of a Kingdome than desirous thereof; he affirmed his life had beene alwaies free from malicious, and ambitious attempts, that stayednesse of yeeres had now settled his minde from aspiring thoughts: That experience of former dangers, had bred in him a wary regard, in such a waightly businesse, that to cast a King out of his State, was an enterprize, not hastily to be attempted, nor easily effected. And though the matter were neither impossible, nor difficult, yet the rarenesse of the fact, as wanting president, would make the action seeme injurious to all indifferent minds: And he that shall attain a Kingdome, upon opinion of desert, doth charge himselfe with greater expectation; and how honourably soever he shall comport himselfe, he shall never want his deadly enviers; Besides this, in civill dissensions, the faith of the multitude is flitting, and danger is to be doubted from every particular person: That it is possible that all may fall away, but impossible to be safe from every one, how ever friendly in semblance. Therefore he rather wisht to spend the remainder of his yeeres, as hee did, obscurely, in a safe and certaine estate, than to thrust himselfe upon those pikes of perils, which being once entred into, are dangerous to follow, and deadly to forsake: whereas in private attempts a man may step, and stop when, and how, and

as often as he pleaseth: But the ayne at a Kingdome, hath no middle course, betwixt the life of a Prince, or the death of a Traytor. The Archbishop replied, saying, The state wherein you now stand, is neither so safe or certaine as you conceive: Indeed by rejecting our request, you may avoyd certaine dignity, and with that uncertaine and contingent dangers: But shall procure most certaine destruction, both to your selfe and us. For this attempt cannot be kept secret long from the King: And the best Princes are tender in points of Soveraigntie, and beare a nimble eare to the touch of that string; and it prejudiceth more a Subject, to be thought worthy of a Kingdome, than it will profit him to have refused the offer of it. What then will he doe, that putteth the chiefeest securitie of his Raigne in the basenesse, and barenesse of his Subjects: who being perpetually possessed with jealousie, maketh every presumption a prooffe, and every light surmise a strong suspicion against them? And of certaintie, if the generall favour and the love which the people beareth you, hath as now bereaved you of your libertie: This their generall desire, will not leave your life untouched. As for us, if we faint in our intent, or faile in the enterprise, farewell all; we shall but bee like lambs amongst lyons: And no losse by conquest can be more grievous unto us, than the Kings raigne over us: assuredly, now we have gone on too farre to goe back. And the time is long since past, when you for ambition, and we for envy, might seeme to attempt against the King. The possession of the Crown, must now be the sole sanctuary, and refuge for us both. Examples of the like attempts, are neither rare, nor worne out of practise, nor so farre off to be fetched: We might instance in *Germany*, the Emperour *Adolphus*. In *Denmarke* and *Swedenland*; In the *Netherlands*; in this Kingdome, both before and since the Conquest, instance were to be given of the like; there is alwayes difficultie in things that tend to much excellency: But they that are afraid of every shadow, will hardly at first truly apprehend the substance.

And as he was about to proceed to justifie the lawfulnessse, the Duke interrupted him, and said, Where necessitie doth enforce, it is needlesse to use speech, either of easinesse or lawfulnessse: Necessitie will runne through brazen wals, and cannot be bounded by lawes: I have had my full share in these calamities, and I wish you knew, with what griefe I have beheld you. What recompence have I received, for all my labour and expence in the Kings service, but the death of my deare Uncles, and neere friends, my owne banishment, the base imprisonment of my children, and the losse of my goods and inheritance? And what hath beene returned unto you for your blood, so often spent in these unfortunate warres, but perpetuall payments of unnecessary exactions, daily massacres, and insupportable slavery. I have tired my patience in apprehension of my owne miseries and pitying yours: remedy them hitherto I could not (had I beene never so willing:) if now I can, I will not refuse, to sustaine that part, which your importunitie doth enforce upon me. If we prevaile, wee shall regaine our liberties: If wee misse, our estate can bee no worse than it is: And if we must perish, either guilty or guiltlesse, it is more noble to hazzard our selves, either to win our lives, or dye in defence of our liberties. And though our lives were safe, which in truth they are not, yet to desert the State, and sleepe still in this slavery, would argue either negligence, or stupiditie in us, or both. It remaineth now that we use secrecie, and celeritie, taking hold of that opportunitie the Kings absence presents unto us: For in enterprizes, which never are commended before atchieved, delays are dangerous: And safer it is, to bee  
found

An.  
1399  
R.23.



An.  
1399.  
R.23.

The Duke  
of Hereford  
setteeth for-  
ward.

found in open action, than private Counsell: For they that deliberate only to rebell, have rebelled already. Hereupon the Confederates returne for *England*, to provide armes, and prepare necessities against the Dukes arrivall: who presently acquaints the King of *France*, that he intended to go to visit his kinsman, *John Duke of Brabant*, and obtained from him Letters of safe conduct. There hee waged some souldiers, with whom from *Callice* he made for *England*, giving forth at his coming aboard, that he onely endeavoured to regaine the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and the rest of his lawfull inheritaunce, which King *Richard* wrongfully detained from him. With him came *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* heire to *Richard* late Earle of *Arundel*; the residue of his retinue exceeded not twenty lances, so that it is hard to judge, whether was the greater marvell, either that hee durst attempt, or that he did prevaile with so small a company. But his confidence was in the favour, and assistance of the people in the Realme: Hee for a time did beare up for *England*; but not in a straight course, but hulling about the shore, making shew to land sometimes on one coast, sometimes on another, thereby to discover what forces were in readinesse, either to receive, or resist him.

The Duke  
of Here-  
ford lan-  
ded in Hol-  
dernesse.

The Duke  
of Hereford  
sworne  
not to do,  
or suffer  
any vio-  
lence to  
be done to  
King *Rich-  
ard*.

In the meane time *Edmond Duke of Yorke* the Kings Uncle, and Vicegerent, having intelligence of the Duke of *Herefords* designe, Convoked *Stafford* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Chancellor, *William Scroope* Earle of *Wiltshire*, the Lord Treasurer, *Sir John Busby*, *Sir Henry Greene*, *Sir William Bagot*, *Sir John Russell*, and others of the Kings privie Councell, and entered into Counsell, what was best to be done: Where it was concluded deceitfully by some, unskilfully by others, and by all perniciously for King *Richard* to quit the Sea coasts, to leave *London*, and to make the randevow at *Saint Albones*, to gather Forces to oppose the Duke, who was lately landed about the Feast of *Saint Martine*, without any resistance or rub, at *Raven-spur* in *Holdernesse*, whose side was by nothing more advantaged, than by that dissembling, & deceitfull deliberation of the Kings Council. Upon his arrivall, *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Henry* surnamed *Hot-spur* his sonne, the Earle of *Westmerland*, the Lords, *Nevill*, *Rosse*, and *Willoughby*, and many other personages of honour came unto him, whose accession both increased reputation to their cause, and was a great countenance and strength to the Dukes further purposes. But first they tooke an oath of him, that he should neither procure, nor permit any bodily harme to bee done to King *Richard*, and thereupon they pawnd to the Duke of *Hereford* their honours, to joyn with him in all extremitie, to prosecute the Kings mischievous Councillours. The Common-people desperate upon new desires, head and headlong flocked to these Noblemen. The better sort for love to the Common-wealth, some upon levitie, and itching desire of change, others to repayre their distressed and decayed estates, who all setting up their rests upon a generall disturbance, were (in conceit) then most safe, when the common state was most unsure: So between the one and the other, the number in short time increased to thirty thousand able souldiers. The Duke finding successe to favour him, not only beyond expectation, but even above his wish, He followed the channell whilst the current went strong; and cutting off unnecessary delayes, with all celeritie he hasted to *London*, that possessing himself thereof, being the chiefe place within the kingdome for strength and store, he might best there make the seat of Warre, and be easiest accommodated with provision and amunition.

In

An.  
1399  
R.23.

In this expedition, no opposition was seene, nor hostilitie showne; but in his passage the Gentlemen of best ranke and qualitie, joyned themselves unto him, some for affection, others for feare, but most in hope of reward after victory, every one though upon causes dis-like, yet with like ardent desire contending, lest any should seeme more forward than they. In every place also where he made stay, rich gifts, and pleasant devises were presented unto him, with large supply of necessities, farre above his necessitie. The common people with shows and acclamations gave their applause, extolling the Duke as the only man of courage, saluting him King: with contumelious termes depraving *Richard*, as a simple and sluggish man, a dastard, nyding, and altogether unworthy to beare rule; without rule, railing at the one, and without reason flattering the other. The Duke was no niggard of his complement, nor negligent of popular behaviour, knowing the common people are much delighted with affable gestures, accounting that for courtesie which the severer sort reckon abasement. At *London* hee was richly and royally entertained, with Processions and Pageants, and many triumphant devices and Showes, and the unable multitude (who otherwise could not) by their words, wishes, and wills, did testifie their loving affection towards him.

At which time there appeared not any memory of faith or allegiance to King *Richard*. But (as in sedition it alwayes appeareth) as the most swayed, all went. The Duke of *York* was mustering at Saint *Albones* for the King; but as the people out of divers Countries were drawne thither, many of them protested that they would doe nothing to the prejudice of the Duke of *Lancaster*, who they affirmed was unjustly expelled his Country, and unlawfully kept from his inheritance. Then the Earle of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Busby*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, forsooke the Duke of *York*, and fled to *Bristol*, intending to passe the Seas into *Ireland* to the King.

These foure were they that were supposed to have taken of the King, his kingdome to farme, and therefore were so odious to the people, that their preferce turned away many of the Subjects hearts. Nay, it is probable, that more for displeasure taken against them, than against the King, the revolt was enterprised. For they being the only men of credit, and authoritie with the King, under false cover of obedience, they wholly governed both the Realme and him, abusing his name, either against his Will, or without his knowledge, insomuch that he was cleerely innocent of many things, which passed under his Commandement: But the people could not indure, that two or three should rule all, not because they were not sufficient, but because they were in favour: and they distasted the King, in that hee permitted them whom he might have bridled, to runne without respect, or at least for that he was ignorant of that he should have knowne, and by conniving at their faults, made them his owne, and opened thereby the gap to his destruction. For it is as dangerous to a Prince, to have hurtfull & hatefull Officers in eminent places, as to be hurtfull and hatefull to himselfe. The Duke of *York* either amazed at the sudden change, or fearing his adventure, if he should proceed to resistance, gave over the cause, and preferred present securitie before duty with danger, giving occasion thereby to be suspected to favour the Duke of *Lancaster* proceeding, and thereupon all the other Councellours, either openly declared for the Duke, or secretly wished his welfare. And abandoning all private directions and advice, adjoynded themselves to the common course, hoping thereby of greater safetie.

In the meane time Duke *Henry* being at *London*, entred into consultation with

An.

1399.

R.23.

The Duke of Hereford entred into Council at London. Warre proclaimed against King Richard.

Lancasters Oration.

The Lord Treasurer pursued to Bristol. The Treasurer with Sir John Busby, surprised in Bristol Castle, and afterwards executed.

with his Confederates what way was best to take, amongst whom it was then concluded, finally to uncrown King *Richard*, and constitute Duke *Henry* King in his stead: And to that end open warre was proclaimed against King *Richard*, and all his partakers, as enemies to the peace and quiet of the kingdome; Pardon also was promised, to all those that would submit themselves to follow the present course; otherwise no favour to be expected; Not one of the Nobilitie durst oppose himselfe in these designs; some unwilling to play all their estate at one cast, kept themselves at libertie, to bee directed by successe of future event; others consented in termes of doubtful construction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occasion should change: But the most part directly, and resolutely entred into the action, and made their fortunes sharers with Duke *Henries*, in the danger, though not in the Honour, to whom Duke *Henry* used this speech.

I am, as you see, at your procurement returned, and by your meanes have undertaken Armes, to vindicate our common libertie; hitherto we have prosperously proceeded: But in what termes we now stand, I am altogether unacquainted. As a private man I would bee loth to be reckoned, being by you designed to be a King; Prince I cannot bee esteemed, whilst another possesseth the Crown; your Title likewise is in suspence, whether to be termed Rebels, or Subjects, untill you have made manifest, that your Allegiance was bound rather to the state of the Realme, than the person of the Prince; Now you are they, that have both caused this doubtfulness, and must cleere the point; your part still remaineth to be acted, your vertue and valour must adde strength to this action; We have already ventured so farre, that all hope of pardon is drowned, so that if we shrinke backe, and breake this enterprize, no mercy is to be expected, but butchery and gibbets; if wee delay the enterprize, we shall lose the opportunitie, that now is offered, and give occasion of advantage to our adversaries. The peoples blood is up now on our sides, and nothing is wanting, but our care and your diligence; let us therefore now, not trifle more time in talking; but let us strike whilst the iron is hot, let us resolutely set forward, and possesse our selves speedily of all parts of the Realme, so shall we be either able to keep out our concurrent, or else to entertaine him little to his liking. Hereupon, troops of men are speedily sent into all quarters of the kingdome, to keepe King *Richards* partie from drawing to a head. The vulgar (as men broken with many burthens) readily entertained the first commers, and were not over-curious to side with the stronger: Duke *Henry* pursued the Treasurer, and his accomplices to *Bristol*, where he found the Castle fortified against him; but in foure dayes he forced it, and therein surprised the Lord Treasurer, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, whom the common people eagerly pursued to execution; no defence could be admitted, no excuse heard, no respite obtained, but still their rage continued, crying against them, that they were Traytours, blood-suckers, that had abused the King, and undone his Subjects to enrich themselves: And through their clamorous and importunate instance, the day following, the Earle of *Wiltshire* with the rest were beheaded. This Earle of *Wiltshire* was *William* Lord *Scroope*, in the twenty one yeere of *Richard* the second, Created Earle of *Wiltshire*, and made Lord Treasurer; he purchased the *Isle of Man*, and dyed without issue. Sir *William Bagot*, whilst the other went to *Bristol*, posted to *Chester*, and pursuit being made after the most, he alone escaped into *Ireland*. This execution partly because it pleased the people, and partly because it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon,



don, caused them to cleave more firme unto the Duke, which greatly increased both his hope, & glory, as having offers of so large aide, & so little need.

In the meane time the newes of the Dukes arrivall, and occurrences thereupon, part true, part false, and all enlarged by many circumstances (as fame increaseth by going) was related to the King, he then being intrangled with other broyles in *Ireland*; at the receipt whereof, he caused the Sonnes of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Lancaster*, to be imprisoned at the Castle at *Trim*, and for the speedier dispatch to go into *Englana*, left most of the provision behind, hasting and shuffling together, as his present haste did enforce, being both unskilfull, and unfortunate himselfe, and voide of all good direction from others; and with more haste than good speed, he tooke shipping, and within the space of three nights, with the Dukes *Aumerle*, *Exceter*, and *Surry*, the Bishop of *London*, *Lincolne*, and *Carlisle*, and some others hee arrived at *Milford* haven in *Wales*, in which Countrey-men he reposed his chiefe trust for safetrie; But when hee saw that contrary to expectation, that aswell there, as in all other places, the people flocked to the Duke, and fled from him, and those that were with him, were all wavering, and some revolted, all devices were disturbed, and he unresolved what course to take; on the one side he was confident his cause was right, his conscience being cleer from any great bad demerit: on the other side, he saw the adversaries great strength, and the whole power of the Realme bent against him: And being more abashed by the one, than encouraged by the other, hee was perplexed in uncertaine termes, either where to stay, or whither to stirre, wanting both knowledge and resolution himselfe, in cases of such difficultie, and obnoxious to unfaithfull counsell: Some advised him to march further into the land, before his owne forces fell from him, alledging that fortune seconds valour; That in all places he should finde some, who of duty, for favour, or hire, would joyne with him; others perswaded him to returne into *Ireland*, and from thence to returne when sufficiently strengthened. But the King unacquainted with Martiall affaires, rejected both counsels, and in taking a middle course (which alwayes in extremes of that kinde is the worst) he resolved to stay in *Wales*, to attend to what head this humour would rise. The Duke upon advertisement of the Kings landing, with great power speeds to *Chester*, whereupon *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worcester*, Steward of the Kings household, to vindicate the proclaiming his brother the Earle of *Northumberland* traytor, openly in the Hall before all the Kings servants, broke his staffe of office, and departed to the Duke, willing the rest to shift for themselves in time; hereby he lost his repuration on both sides, being by the one accounted a corrupter, by the other a betrayer of the King: The rest by his Example, more fearefull than faithfull, tooke every man his owne way and scattered. And they that in the Kings prosperitie, would have contended to be foremost, now together draw backe, and like Swallowes forsake that house in Winter, where all the Summer they did feed and soyle. Between faint souldiers, and false friends, the King is abandoned: Look on he might, remedie if he could not, as not of force to punish that which he never forced to prevent; his present remedy is patience (a cold comfort;) his only revenge, complaint (a weak weapon;) Between both, thus he vents his passion.

And doe (saith he) all forsake me? doth their faith and my good fortune both end together? Had I forsaken them in time, I had not been forsaken of others, who once loved me better, but now are able to hurt me more. I confesse the blindness of my judgment, and see there is no friendship in flattery,

nor

An.  
1399  
R.23.

The Sons of the Duke of Gloucester and Lancaster imprisoned in Trim Castle in Ireland.

King Richard arriveth at Milford Haven.

Discouraged.

His Counsellours disagree.

Lancaster marcheth towards the King. The Lord Steward dissolveth the Kings household.

King Richard ex- postulates with himselfe.

An.  
1399.  
R.23.

nor trecherie in plaine truth, and wish I had but as much space to reforme this error, as I am like to have time to repent it; But ah! they would not suffer me to be wise when I might, and now they have made me wretched, they flye from me; they were content to be the causes, but will not be companions of my calamities; such attendants are like Crowes to a dead carcasse, which flock to it, not to defend it, but to devour it, and no sooner have they bared the bones, but they are gone.

Thus having lost both the feare and affection of his Subjects, distracted, without comfort, counsell, or courage, like an Exile in his own kingdome, he remaineth in *Wales*, not daring to goe to *London*, and no man desirous to come to him, shifteth still from place to place, fearing all things, but most misliking the present. The Duke pursueth him with all his power, but the King was too weake to do any thing by force, and yet too great to be undiscovered, neither had he any assurance of those few he had. At length he came to the Castle of *Conoway*, and there utterly destitute of help, or hope, he stood divided in minde, which way to bend his course; his followers were more ready to oppugne the opinion of others, than to give direction themselves, as seeing better what to shun, than what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in desperate causes, that course is commonly made choice of, whereof the opportunitie is already past. Some advised him that it was then time, rather to think of saving of life, than recovering his estate; give place (say they) to the current of this furie, let it have its full source, & when it is at the highest, it will turne againe, and then you shall have the tyde as strong with you, as it is now against you: Therefore give a little space, for the bad to draw back, for the good to put forward. Treason gets ground at the first, but good counsell gathers strength by cunctation. The minds of the multitude are only constant in unconconstancy, and persevere only in change, in dislike of things present, they desire new, wherewith they rest not long contented, but are many times glutted with the first sight: And how can they long endure the Raigne of him, who mounting the Throne only by their favour, and strength, shall hold the same in a manner at their courtesie; every unpleasant command shall be deemed ingratitude, every suit (though never so unreasonable) if denyed, shall charge him with unkindnesse: if honour be not offered, they will be much discontented, and upon every occasion of distaste, thinke themselves as able to displace him, as they were to set him up; You may therefore (say they) for a time returne to *Ireland*, or go to your Father-in-law into *France*; you may assure your selfe of his assistance to stand upon your side to recover your losses. Others who were enemies to any counsell, how good soever it was, whereof themselves were not authors, perswaded the King, that his enemies would rather die than desist, not so much for enmitie to him, as for caution to themselves: For it is a hard matter to forgive, but impossible to forget the indignities and injuries they have offered. And to omit what some Princes have done, what all will promise to doe: They will soone find fresh and bleeding examples, what you are like to doe. *Glocester*, *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, made insurrection, not to move you from the Crowne, but to remove from you certaine misleaders of your affections: an action more displeasing, than prejudiciall unto you. Atonement was made, Charters of free pardon were granted under the great Seals: But what followed? was the breach ever perfectly made up? did displeasure dye, or was it only dissembled? but the present wants of their lives, have fully revenged their deaths. For had they lived, their countenance and authoritie would

Consults  
with his  
followers.

would easily have stinted these strifes; but the manner of their death, perswades an obstinate resistance in all your adversaries: As for the refuge to forrain Princes, you may peradventure receive of them faire entertainment, and allowance; yet growing burdensome, it may perchance fayle: But it is hard to draw a Prince into such a quarrell, and more hard by that meanes to prevaile: Or if you should, it is to bee feared, that the Victors will hold the benefit of the conquest to themselves, and not yeeld it over to you. Few Countreys (that have required such ayde) but have bene by Forrainers subdued. This drew the Saxons into the land, who so assisted the Britons, that they could not be resisted from possessing their Kingdome; yet help of strangers in cases of extremitie, is not altogether to be contemned, but it is a remedy last to be trusted to, least to be tryed, but in no case altogether to be relied upon. What then if you procure a Treatie, to see in what termes the people stand against you? it may be upon faire quarter, they will submit, but if they will persist to uncrown you, an honourable stipend may be procured you; what shall you lose thereby? you have no child to be dis-inherited, the chiefe motive to make men greedy to get, and carefull to retaine? And as for your selfe, you shall be but translated from a steep and slippery hill, to a smooth and pleasant plaine, from dangerous travell, to secure rest. And if there be no solace without safetie, no felicitie without firmnesse, you shall finde the private life, not only more pleasant, but more happy than your princely state. The tallest trees are weakest in the tops; and envie alwayes aymeth at the highest: But you shall lose (you will say) the credit and countenance of a King, so shall you the cares and casualties: The Crowne and Scepter are things most waighty to wield; If a Prince be good, he is laden with labour; if evill, with infamy, howsoever with perils, and tossed with strong and sturdy tempests; so that to bee freed from these feares, is to bee esteemed a gaine, rather than a losse. Examples to prove this, are those of our owne Countrey (without seeking of others) as may appeare by *Kinigellus*, *Ina*, *Ceomulphe*, *Eadbertus*, *Eiheldredus*, *Kenredus*, *Offa*, *Sebba*, and *Sigibertus*; who of their owne accord, laid downe their Diadems, and betook themselves to private and solitarie lives. Many Princes have held their estate with better fortune, but none with greater honour did leave it; others have either abandoned their Rule for ease, or to avoid danger, or upon some pretended devotion; but you for love to your Countrey, may seeme to forbear to seeke your remedy, to maintaine warre, wherein much blood may be spilt and the Realme deprived of many able Warriours: Let others bee perswaded to forsake their Kingdomes, when they had no longer pleasure to hold them; but your prayse will be for giving over, when it is to the greatest benefit of the people, and the more hope you have to prevaile, if you list to contend; The greater commendations will it be to yeeld, as rather being voluntary than compulsive. The King commended the courage of the first, but this last counsell agreed best with his faint spirit, which was more inclinable to feare, than forward in hope, preferring abject and base safetie, before hazzard with honour; Others thereupon earnestly assevered, That all conditions of yeelding, were both dishonourable and dangerous; That in extremities noble spirits will not suddenly give off, but labour courageously to repell the danger, or wisely to decline it; alleaging that none should so little esteem honour, as without battell or blow stricken, to be crest-falne, and stoope to miserable mercy; Others passionately said, if the honour of your noble house nothing move you, yet let danger and despaire arme you with bold-

Ann.  
1399.  
R. 23.



An.  
1399.  
R.23.

nesse, neither the Duke nor his adherents dare be so confident, to thinke themselves safe, so long as you shall remaine (though in private state) alive; you may assure your selfe, faire words will be given, and large offers made, but the performance rests in the courtesie of the Conquerour: and nothing ought to be thought unlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the second, one of your Progenitors, could not be endured by his owne Son: many have used violence to themselves, rather than to fall into the power of their *Corrivalls*; expect not then better fortune, than others have found; never be perswaded that a Prince may live safely (if knowne) in a private estate; betwixt *Cesar* and nothing, the highest honour, and the deadliest downfall, there is no meane: omit not therefore all, or any meanes unassayd, to maintaine your partie by armes; you can but die if vanquished, and die you shall if you yeeld; but by the one you shall end your life with glory, by the other with perpetuall reproach: And though now you equally esteem of both, yet when you shall be pent in prison, daily in feare, expecting the deadly messenger, you will finde a difference in death, and the weaknesse of that counsell you are now about to follow. But the Kings eares were stopped against all impression of valour, and being unable to governe himselfe in prosperitie, he was now lesse sufficient to wind himself out of this labyrinth of troubles: And being so beset, that he could neither escape, nor stand out; he desired conference with the Archbishop, and *Northumberland*; the one he had formerly banished, the other proclaimed Traytour. These came unto him, but perceiving by little conference, how much they were bent against him; he demanded not, what he saw no likelihood to obtaine, and agreed to relinquish his estate, to have a competency of meanes, and the lives of but eight such persons as he should nominate allowed unto him. This was readily and faithfully promised by them, and afterward ratified by the Duke. The King desireth conference with the Duke, which likewise was promised, and so they departing, the King removed to *Flint* Castle, about eight miles from *Chester*, whither the Duke came; at whose interview, the countenance and words of both were observed. The King seemed abject, the Duke neither insulting nor relenting, but rather comforting and promising friendly. The King repeated many benefits and courtesies that he had formerly shewed, that he had spared the Dukes owne life, and now his Sonnes; in recompence whereof he with such submissnesse (as agreed rather with necessitie than honour) desired the Duke to shew pittie to him, from whom hee had received favour, and to permit him to live with the allowance of some sitting, but private estate of maintenance. The Duke to comfort him, gave him assurance to provide for his safetie: For which he was contented to receive thanks as for a benefit. The King from that time was kept safe, and sure enough from hindering the Dukes projects: Neither could it so easily have beene discerned, what had beene best for him to doe, as that this which he did, was the very worst; For the same night he was brought to *Chester*, and from thence secretly conveyed to the Tower of *London*, there to remaine untill the Parliament; which was appointed should be shortly after holden at *Westminster*.

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The King yeelded himselfe the twentieth day of *August*, being the fortie seventh day after the Dukes arrivall, so that considering his journeys from *Holdernesse* in the North to *London*, from thence to *Bristol*, and so into *Wales*; and back againe to *Chester*; a man shall not more easily travell over it, then he conquered it; so propitious were his starres unto him, that

that he either found, or made a ready passage through all hinderances and obstacles; And it seemed, he only needed but to open his armes, and Fortune would flie into his bosome. All the Kings Treasure and Jewels, with his horse and fardage came to the Dukes hands; And many that were of his company, were dispoyled by the Souldiers of *Northumberland* and *Wales*. Some Writers barely upon conjectures affirme, that the King did not yeeld himselfe, but was surpris'd, passing from *Flint* to *Chester*: But the authority of such as lived at that time, and either saw it, or had perfect intelligence of these affaires, such as for their place could not but know, and for their profession would not but deliver the very truth, so prevailed with Sir *John Heywood*, the Penner of this History, that he followed their report. As the King was in his journey towards *London*, some had conspired to lie in ambush by the way, to have slaine him; But the Major of *London* upon intelligence thereof, prevented the practice, and went in person, and with convenient power, brought him to the Tower. Shortly after, the Duke came to *London* in solemne estate, and sent forth summons in the Kings name, for a Parliament to be holden the last day of September in the same yeare; In the meane time he consulted with his deare friends, and neere kindred, for order to be taken in his proceedings. The Duke of *Yorke*, who but a little before, had been Governor of the Realme for the King, was now the Dukes chiefe director, he thought it best that King *Richard* should both voluntarily resign, and also solemly be deposed, by consent of all the States of the Realme. For resignation would be imputed onely to feare, deprivation to force; whereof the one is alwayes pitied, and the other envied. But if both concur, and his desire be combined with his desert, being willing to forsake that, which he is adjudged worthy to forgoe; Then it will appeare, that he is neither expelled his kingdom by meere constraint, nor leaveth it without just cause; this advise generally pleased. And for execution thereof, upon the Feast of Saint *Michael* (which was the day before the Parliament should begin) there assembled at the Tower, *Thomas Arundell*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Richard Scroope*, Archbishop of *Yorke*; *John*, Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Radulph* Earle of *Westmerland*, Lord *Hugh Burnell*, Lord *Thomas Berkley*, Lord *Rosse*, Lord *Willowby*, Lord of *Abergany*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, the Pryor of *Canterbury*, *William Thirnings*, and *John Markham* Chiefe Justices; *Thomas Stokely* and *Burbacke*, Doctors of the Law; *Thomas Herpingham*, *Thomas Gray*, Knights; *William Ferly*, and *Dionise Lophane*, Notaries publick; and divers others, neither noted nor remembred. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought forth, apparelled in a royall Robe, the Diadem on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, and was placed amongst them in a chaire of State; never was Prince so gorgeous with lesse glory and more grieve; To whom it was not thought disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a King; But he must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and surrender up the other. After he had sate a while and pawled, he used these words to the Assembly:

I perswade my selfe, that many here present, and many more hereafter, will account my case lamentable, either that I have deserved this dejection; if it be just, or if it be wrongfull, that I could not avoyd it; I confesse with shame and grieve, that many times I have appeared, both lesse provident, and lesse painfull for the benefit of the Republick, than I should or might, or would have beene hereafter; and have in many actions, more respected the

An.  
1399.  
R.23.

A Parliament summoned by the Duke in the Kings name.

King Richards speech.

*An.*  
1399  
*R. 23.*

satisfying my owne particular humour, or some private persons, than the rules of justice, or the common good of all; yet did I not at any time, either altogether omit dutie, or commit grievance, upon supine dulnesse, or set malice, but partly by abuse of corrupt Counsellours, chiefly by error of my youthfull rash conceit without true judgement. The remembrance of these over-sights, are to no man so unpleasant, as to my selfe; and the rather, because I have no meanes left, either to recompence the injuries done, or to testifie to the world my reformed affections, which experience and maturitie of yeeres had already begun to correct, and would I assure my selfe, have growne to a more perfect frame, if but permitted to have continued. But whether all imputed to me, be true, either in substance or qualitie, according as they are suggested, or whether being true, they be so exorbitant, as to enforce these extremities, or whether any other Prince, especially in youthfull blood, and in the space of two and twenty yeeres (the time of my unfortunate raigne) doth not sometimes, either for advantage or displeasure, in as deep manner grieve some particular subject, I will not now examine: it bootes not to use defence, nor much availeth to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pitie for the other: And therefore I refer all to Gods pleasure, and your more collected considerations: I accuse no man, I blame not fortune, I complaine of nothing. There is no pleasure in such ayrie comforts; it may be if I had had will to have stood upon termes, I could have procured great favours abroad, and (presume) some good friends at home, who would have beene ready, (it may be too forward) on my behalf, to set up a dangerous and doubtfull war: But I estimate not worldly dignitie at so high a rate, to hazzard the spilling of so much Christian blood, and the spoiling of so flourishing a Countrey, as thereby might have been occasioned in my quarrell. Therefore that the Common-wealth may rather rise by my fall, than I stand by the ruine thereof, I willingly submit to your desires, and am here come to dispossesse my selfe of all Regall and publick authoritie or title: And to make it free and lawfull for you to Elect, and Create for your King, *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, my Uncles son, whom I know to be as worthy to take that place, as I see you willing to conferre it upon him.

Then he readopenly and distinctly, the forme of his cession, wherein he did declare that he had discharged his Subjects from their obligations of Fealty and homage, and all other tyes whatsoever: And of his owne will and free motion, did repudiate the title, dignitie, and authority of a King, and rendred up the possession of the Realme, with the use and title thereof, and all the rites thereunto appertaining; and thereunto subscribed and made oath for the performance; and then with his owne hands delivered the Crowne, Scepter, Robe, and ornaments to the Duke of *Lancaster*, saying; Cousin, I wish you more happinesse herewith, than ever hapned to my selfe. Then did hee Constitute the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to intimate & declare this his resignation to all the States of the Parliament. Lastly, he gave all his Treasure to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides his jewels and Plate, for satisfaction of injuries done, desiring the Duke and those present, severally by their names, not altogether to forget that he had been their King, nor yet too much to think upon it; but to retaine a moderate remembrance of him, and in recompence of the ease he had done them by this voluntary resignation, to permit him to live safely, in a private life: with the

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contemplation whercof hee was so taken, that from thenceforth he would preferre it before any worldly preferment. This was done with voyce and countenance so consonant to his present passion, that not any present, not un-mindfull of humane instabilitie, which was not in some measure moved thereat: insomuch that some few teares secretly dropped from many eyes there present, in whose thoughts a confused, but obscure alreration already began to take rising; so prone is mankinde to pitie misery, though by themselves procured, & to envie prosperitie, even in those themselves have raised.

The Munday following, the Parliament began at *westminster*, and there the Archbishop of *Torke*, and the Bishop of *Hereford* (the late Kings Attorneys for this purpose) openly declared to the States (there Assembled) the late Kings voluntary resignation; and demanded whether they would assent, and agree there unto. The Barons of the Realm, by particular assent, the Commons with generall voice, accepted and admitted the same: Then it was thought requisite, that some defects and misdemeanours in point of government, should be objected against the late King, for which he might bee adjudged, as unworthy, as he seemed unwilling to retaine the Soveraigntie: whereupon certaine Articles were ingrossed and publickly read, in which was contained how unprofitable he had bene to the Realme, how unjust and grievous to the Subjects, repugnant both to his oath and honour.

The principall of which Articles were:

1 That hee had wastfully spent the Treasure of the Realme, and had to unworthy persons given the possessions of the Crown, by reason whereof many great and grievous taxes were daily laid upon the Commons.

2 That whereas divers Lords, aswell spirituall as temporall, were by the high Court of Parliament, appointed to treat of matters concerning the State of the Kingdome; they being busied about the same Commission, he with others of his accomplices, went about to appeach them of high Treason.

3 That by force and threats he enforced the Judges of the Realme at *Shrewsbury*, to condescend to his way, for the destruction of the said Lords. That thereupon he raised warre against *John Duke of Lancaster*, *Thomas Earle of Arundel*, *Richard Earle of Warwicke*, and others, contrary to his promise, in derogation of the Honour of the King. That he caused his fathers own brother, the Duke of *Glocester*, without law to be attached and sent to *Callice*, and there without reason secretly murdered: That notwithstanding the Earle of *Arundel* at his arraignment, pleaded his Charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death. That he assembled certaine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make warre upon the foresaid Lords, and suffered them to robbe and spoyle, without reproofe or prohibition.

4 That though he dissembled, and had made Proclamation; That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, but for oppression done within the Realme: yet he objected against them in the Parliament, treason and rebellion.

5 That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably fined, to their utter undoing.

6 That contrary to his promise in Parliament, he to his great dishonour kept away divers Rowles and Records, which by agreement should have been shown to certaine Commissioners, appointed to treat of the affaires of the Common-wealth.

An.  
1399  
R. 23.

7 That he commanded that no man upon paine of death, should entreat for the returne of *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaster*.

8 That whereas the Realme is immediately holden of God, he after he had obtained in Parliament divers Acts for his own particular ends, procured Bulls and heavie censures from *Rome*, to compell his Subjects, to observe and performe them, contrary to the honour and antient priviledge of this kingdome.

9 That though the Duke of *Lancaster* had done his devoyre against the Duke of *Norfolk* in defence of his quarrell, yet he banished him the land, without showing just cause: contrarie to equitie and the law of Armes.

10 That having under the great Seale given leave to the said Duke of *Hereford*, to make Proxies and Attornies to prosecute and defend his causes, The said King after the Dukes departure, would not permit any to appeare for him.

11 That he had put out divers high Sheriffes, having beene lawfully elected, putting into their roomes, some of his Favourits, subverting the course of the law, contrary to his oath and honour.

12 He borrowed great summes, and bound himselfe for repayment, but no penny thereof payd.

13 That he layd taxations upon his Subjects at his pleasure, consuming the Treasure in idle expences, but not paying the poore subject for his own viands.

14 That hee affirmed all the Law lay in his head and brest, by which phreneticall conceit, divers of the Nobilitie were destroyed, and the poore Commons fleeced.

15 That he procured by his Solicitors in the Parliament, an Act to bee established, that no Act of Parliament should bee more prejudiciall to him, than it was to his Predecessors; through which Provifo, he did what he list, and nor what the law did allow.

16 That for his ends, hee would keep Sheriffes of Shires longer than one or two yeere in the office.

17 That he put out divers Knights and Burgeses legally elected, and put others of his owne choice in their roomes, to serve his owne turne.

18 That he had spies and informers in every Countrey, to heare and observe the words and demeanours of the people: And if any reproved his loose and licentious courses, they were convented and grievously fined.

19 The spiritualitie objected against him, that at his going into *Ireland*, he squeezed out from them many sums of money, besides Jewels and Plate, without Law or Custome, contrary to his oath at his Coronation: That divers Lords and Justices, being sworn to speake the truth in divers things concerning the honour and safetie of the Realme, and profit of the King, he did so threaten them, that no man would, or durst deliver the truth.

20 That without the assent of the Peeres, hee carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdome into *Ireland*, to the great impoverishing of the Realme, many of them being there lost.

21 That hee caused all remembrances of the great exactions and extortions by him used, and safely deposited amongst the Parliamentarie Records, to be privily imbeazeled and carried away.

22 That in all his Letters to the Pope, and other Princes, his stile was cunning and obscure, that neither they, nor his owne Subjects were certain of his true meaning.

23 That he forgetfully affirmed, that all the lives of his Subjects were in his hands, to dispose at pleasure.

24 That he contrary to the great Charter of England, procured divers able men, to appeale aged people, upon matters determinable at Common law, in the Marshals Court, because in that Court there is no tryall but by battell, whereby such Appealers, knowing their insufficiencie, submitted themselves to his mercie, whom he at his pleasure unreasonably fined.

25 That he devised strange formes of oathes, contrary to law, and enforced divers his Subjects to take and observe the same, and to that end bound them by Recognizance, to the great hinderance of many poore men, and the dishonour of God.

26 That where the Chancellour, upon good grounds, denied a Prohibition, to a certaine person moving for the same: yet he granted it to the same person, under the privie Seale, with a grievous paine if not obeyed.

27 That hee banished the Archbishop of Canterbury, without just cause, or judgement, and kept him with armed men in the Parliament Chamber.

28 That he granted all his goods to his successors conditionally, that he should maintaine all the Statutes made Anno 21. at Shrewsbury, and the 22 yeere of his raigne at Coventrie.

29 That upon the first convention of the Bishop of Canterbury, he cunningly perswaded the Archbishop to make no answer: for he would bee his warrant, perswading him to decline the Parliament: And so without answer he was condemned to be exiled, and his goods seized on; foure other Articles in behalfe of the Bishops, were layed against him, by whose doings only the King was utterly undone.

Then was demanded of the Nobilitie, and Commons of the Realme, what they judged of the substance and truth of these Articles? who all agreed, that the crimes were notorious: And that the King was worthy for the same, to be deposed from his Princely dignitie. The Noble men partly corrupted by favour, partly over-awed by feare, gave their voices. And the Commons, who commonly are like a flock of Cranes, as the first flye, all follow, did the like. Commissioners are appointed by both Houses, who pronounced sentence of Deposition against King Richard, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We Iohn Bishop of Asaph, Iohn Abbot of Glasenbury, Thomas Earle of Glocester, Thomas Lord Barkley, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Gray Knights, and William Thirning Justice, Commissioners for the causes hereafter specified: By the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons of the Realme of England, representing all the States of our Kingdome, specially deputed, sitting in place of judgement, considering the manifold perjuries and cruelties, and many other the crimes and offences, by Richard late King of this Realme committed and done (contrarieto good government) in the Realms and Dominions aforesaid, during the time of his raign: Also considering the Articles which were openly exhibited & read, before the said States, which were so publick, notorious, manifest, & famous, that they neither could, nor can by any shift, or cover, be concealed, or avoyded: considering also the Confession of the said King, acknowledging & reputing and truly upon his certain knowledge, judging himselfe to have been, and to be altogether insufficient, and unskilfull for the rule and government of the Realm and Dominions aforesaid, and not unworthy to be Deposed, for the notorious demerits by the said Richard

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An.

1399

R. 23.



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1399.  
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first acknowledged, and after by his will and mandate before the said States published, and to them opened and declared in English tongue, upon these and other matters which were done, concerning the same businesse, before the said States and Us, by the delegation, place, name and Authoritie to Us in this part committed: in pursuance whereof We pronounce, decree, and declare the said *Richard*, to have bene, and bee unprofitable, unable, and altogether insufficient, and unworthy for the rule and government of the said Realme, and in regard and respect of the premisses, worthy to be deposed from all kingly dignitie and honor (if any such dignitie and honor remaineth in him.) And for the like cautele, We do depose him by our sentence definitive in this Writing, inhibiting from henceforth, expressly, all and singular Lords Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Barons, Knights, Vassals, and all other persons whatsoever of the said Realme, heretofore the subjects of the same, and every of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend to obey the said *Richard*, as King or Lord of the Dominions aforesaid. And afterwards the same Commissioners by the consent and suffrage of both Houses, were constituted Procurators joyntly and severally, for all the States of the Realme, to resigne, and surrender unto King *Richard* for them, and all other homagers of the Realme, all the homages and fealties, which were both due, and done unto him, as King and Sovereign: And also to declare unto him all the premisses concerning his Deposition. Now *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, that he might be reputed, or reported at the least, not to attaine the kingdome by intrusion and wrong, was counselled by his friends, to pretend some lawfull challenge, or claime thereunto: And being in power, it was no sooner advised what was to be done, but it was presently devised how to doe it: So a Title was drawne from *Edmond* son to King *Henry* the third, whom they nicknamed Crook-back, affirming that he was the eldest son of King *Henry*, and that he for his deformitie was put from his right of succession, which was for that cause given to King *Edward* the first. To this *Edmund* the Duke was next of blood, by his mother *Blanch* sole Daughter, and heire to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and Son to the same *Edmond*. This cunning conveyance was perceived by most, but seeming not to perceive it, was a point of friendship in some, and of obedience in the rest. Therefore the Crowne of *England*, being supposed unpossessed, both by the resignation, and also by the deposition of King *Richard*; Duke *Henry* arose from off his seat, and standing in the most view of the Assembly, making the signe of the Crosse on his fore-head and brest, said as followeth:

In the name of God, Amen. I *Henry* of *Lancaster*, claime as my right, the Crowne, and Realme of *England*. with all the Dominions and appendices to the same, as being lineally descended, by the right line, from the blood Royall, comming from that good Lord, King *Henry* the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, by his assistance, and the helpe of my ready kindred, and noble friends, have adventured to recover the same, which was in point of destruction, for want of good government, and orderly distribution of justice therein. And therewith resealed himselfe.

Then was it demanded in both Houses, upper and lower, whether they did consent, that the Duke should raigne over them, who all with one voice accepted of him for their King. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the Throne of State, the Archbishop of *Torke* assisting him, and all the Parliament testifying their owne joy, and wishing his. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon this place of Scrip-  
ture

ture, 1. Reg. 9. 17. See, this is the man whom I spake to thee of, this same shall raigne over my people: did make a paraphrasticall exposition; which ended, the Duke was generally proclaimed King by the name of *Henry the Fourth*, King of *England*, and *France*, Lord of *Ireland*. The Common people voide of cares, not searching into sequels, but without difference of right or wrong, inclinable to follow the mightie, with showts, and clamours gave their applause, not all upon judgement, or faithfull meaning, but only upon received custome at first to flatter the Prince, whatsoever hee bee: But lest the humour thereof should allay by delay, it was forthwith Proclaimed, that upon the thirteenth of September next ensuing, the Coronation of the King should be celebrated at *Westminster*. These matters being thus dispatched, the proclaimed King rose from his Seat, and went to *White-Hall*, where hee feasted the Assembly royally: yet he made no show of statelinesse, or pride, or change of deportment, in this so great change of fortune. Vpon Wednesday following the before-remembred Procurators, went to the deposed King to the Tower, and declared to him the admission of his resignation, and the manner of his Deposition; and in the name of the States of the Realme, did surrender backe the Homage and Fealtie formerly due unto him, with this attestation, that no man from thenceforth would beare unto him faith and allegiance, as due to a King: The King answered that he little regarded titular circumstances, but contented himselfe with hope, that his Cousin would be a gracious Lord, and good friend unto him: And accordingly, upon the day appointed, which was upon the day of the translation of King *Edward the Confessor*, the Duke of *Lancaster* with all accustomed Ceremonies, was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sacred and annointed, and Crowned upon the very same day, that the yeer before he had been banished the Realme; He was annointed with an oyle which a religious man had given to *Henry the first Duke of Lancaster* (grand-father to the King by the Mothers side) when he served in the warres of King *Edward the third* in *France*, together with this Prophecie, that those Kings which should bee annointed therewith at their Coronation, should be the Champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* delivered this Oyle in a golden Violl to Prince *Edward*, eldest Sonne of King *Edward the third*, who locked up the same, in a barred Chest in the Tower, with a ticket of the prediction, with intent to be therewith at his Coronation annointed: But hee dying before his Father, it remained there, either not remembred, or not regarded, untill this present yeere, wherein the King being on his voyage into *Ireland*, and making diligent search, for the Jewells and Reliques of his Progenitors, found this Violl and Prophecie: And understanding the mistery thereof, was desirous to be annoynted againe with that oyle: But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* perswaded him, that both the fact was unlawfull, and the president never seene, that a King should be annointed twice: Whereupon the King tooke the Violl with him into *Ireland*, and when he yeilded himself at *Flint*, The Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded it of him, and receiving it, reserved the same, untill the Coronation of *Henry the fourth*, who was the first King that ever was annoynted therewith. To discourse either of the authoritie, or certaintie of these Prophecies, I presume not, but this is observed, many of them faile, or are fulfilled in another sense, than as they are ordinarily conceived and taken. During the time of this Kings raiga, execution by fire was first put in practice within this Realm for Controversies in point of religion: in any other matter he did make the Church as much Champane,

An.  
1399  
R. 23.

The Commissioners acquaint King Richard with the resolution of the House.

Henry the fourth crowned.

Burning of Hereicks first practised.

An.  
1639.  
R.23.

as show himselfe Champion of the Church : But afterwards his successors were entituled Defenders of the Faith: And how in action the first receiver of that Title did verifie the same, I referre to the report of those times. Upon mature consideration it was found, that the title derived from *Edmund* firnamed *Crouch-back*, to *Henry*, would upon examination appeare but a jeere, for that the said *Edmond* was neither eldest Son to *Henry* the third, nor yet a deformed person, but a proper Gentleman, and a brave Commander in the field, and so respected of his Father, that he gave him both the heritage and honours of *Simon Mumford*, Earle of *Leicester*, of *Ferrare*, Earle of *Darby*; and of *Iohn* Baron of *Monmoth*; who to their owne ruine had displayed seditious Ensignes against the King; under which *Leicester* was slaine at the battell of *Evesham*: and to engratiate him to *Blaunch*, the Queene of *Navarre*, he first Created him Earle of *Lancaster*, and gave unto him the Countie, Castle and Towne of *Lancaster*, with the Forrests of *wiresdale*, *Lonsdale*, *New-castle* beneath the *Linne*, the Mannor, Castle, and Forrests of *Pickering*, the Mannor of *Scalby*, the Towne of *Glocester*, of *Huntingdon*, &c. and made him high Steward of *England*, with many priviledges and other titles of Honour. Therefore King *Henry*, upon the day of his Coronation, caused to be Proclaimed, that hee claimed the Crowne of *England*, first by right of Conquest; Secondly, because King *Richard* had resigned his estate, and designed him for his Successor; Lastly, because he was of the blood royall, and next heire male to King *Richard*, *Heres malus* indeed cryed *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*, to some of his familiars, and so is a Pirat to a Merchant, when he dispoyleth him of all that ever he hath. This *Edmond* Earle of *March*, was Sonne to *Roger* not long before slaine in *Ireland*, who had beene publicly declared heire to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* should have died without issue, as descended by his Mother *Philip*, from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, who was elder Brother to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, King *Henryes* Father; and therefore the said *Edmond* thought himself (as in truth he was) neerer heire male to succession of the Crowne, than he that by colour of right clayming it, carried it by dint of force. But the condition of the time was such, that he supposed it was in vaine for him to stirre, where King *Richard* could not stand; whereupon he dissembled, either that he saw his wrong, or that he regarded it, and chose rather to suppress his Title for a time, than by untimely opposing himself to have it oppressed, and depressed for ever: He withdrew himselfe therefore from *London*, to his Lordship of *Wigmore* in the West parts of this Realme, and there settled himselfe to a quiet and retired life; he counted it a point of wisdome to meddle with nothing, whereof any man was chargeable to render account: in revenewes he was not great, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not excessive (yet in all these honourable and according to his degree) so that they that esteemed men by the outward apparance on'y, could see in him no great show of wit, or courage to be feared, or of wealth or honour, in his estate to bee envied. And thus whilst that a greater enemy was feared, he passed unregarded, making himselfe safe by contempt, where nothing was so dangerous as popular opinion, and raked up those coles in securitie for a time, which afterward set all the Realme on fire. King *Richard* being now deposed, was sent after his resignation to *Leeds* in *Kent*, but afterwards to *Pomfert* Castle, where wee leave him.





THE  
LIFE AND REIGNE  
OF KING HENRY  
THE FOUETH.



**H**ENRY, surnamed *Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Hereford*, and Sonne of *Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*, fourth Sonne of King *Edward the Third*; beginning his Reigne the 29 of September 1399; presently after his Coronation, created his eldest Sonne, Lord *Henry*, being about thirteene yeeres of age, Prince of *wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*; and soone after, Duke of *Aquitaine*; hee made also many new Officers: His second Sonne *Thomas*, hee made Lord High Steward of *England*; appointing the Earle of *worcester* his Assistant, during the Minoritie of the said *Thomas*: The Earle of *Northumberland*, he made Lord High Constable; The Earle of *westmerland* Marshall of *England*. Hee was Crowned at *westminster* the thirteenth of October following, being Munday, the day kept holy in commemoration of Saint *Edward the Confessor*. The Dukes of *Norke*, *Surrey*, *Albemerle*, with the Earle of *Glocester*, bare the Canopie over him, (which Office the Barons of the Cinque-ports doe at this day execute) Sir *Thomas Dymock* was Champion, and armed *cap-a-pe*, road about the Hall, challenging any that should gain-say the Kings right to the Crown of *England*. The King likewise made Sir *Iohn Shirley*, Lord Chancellor; *Iohn Norbury* Esquire, Lord Treasurer; Sir *Richard Clifford*, Lord Privie Seale. Upon the fourth of October, the Lord High Steward, by his Fathers command, sate in the Kings Hall at *westminster*, and caused Proclamation to be made, That any that could justly claime any Office at the solemnization of the Kings Coronation, should prefer their Petitions; whereupon divers claimed Offices and Fees: And those to whom the rights of such claimes appertained, were admitted accordingly. The Parliament was prorogued to the morrow after Saint *Edwards* day, upon their re-assembly, it was enacted, that the inheritance of the Crowne and Realme of *England*, and of all the Dominions to the King of *England* appertaining, should bee united, and remaine in the person of King *Henry*, and in the Heires of his body lawfully begotten: And that Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, should be his

An.  
1399.  
R.1.

Ann.  
1399.  
R. 1.

his Heire apparant, and Succesor in the premisses; and if he should die without issue, then they were entailed to his other Sonnes successively in order, and to the Heires of their bodies; so that nothing was left undone, that the wit of man could invent, and authoritie refulcitate, for the setting of the right to the Crown in him and his Heirs. In this Parliament were deprived of their dignities, the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumerle*, and *Exceter*; The Marquesse *Dorset*, and Earle of *Glocester* underwent the like sentence. The Inheritance of the Kingdome settled, and some exemplary punishments of some the late Kings ill counsellors made: A motion was made in Parliament, what should be done with the deposed King.

The Bishop of  
Carlisle's O-  
ration.

*Thomas Mercks* the Bishop of *Carlisle*, a man that used both liberty and constancie in a good cause; in his private judgement, having never allowed these proceedings, but dissembled his dislike, till fit time to declare it, being in a place to bee heard, and by the order of the House, not to be interrupted of any, rose up, and with a grave countenance and settled courage, said; This question (right Honourable) concerneth a matter of great consequence and waight, the determining whereof will assuredly procure either quiet or turmoyle, both to the publick State, and our particular consciences. Therefore before any resolution thereof bee given, I beseech you to take into your more serious consideration, these two things: First, whether King *Richard* be sufficiently deposed or not; Secondly, whether King *Henry* be by Justice and good advisement seated in the Succession: In the first point is to be examined, whether a King by lineall succession, crowned, annoynted, and lawfully invested, may upon imputation, either of negligence or tyrannie, bee deposed by his Subjects? secondly, what *Richard* had omitted in the one, or committed in the other, that might deserve that heaveie judgement? I will not dispute what may be done, in a Popular, or Consular estate, in which though one beareth the Title, and Honour of a Prince; yet he hath no Supream power of a King: But in the one the Nobilitie, and chiefe men of State; in the other, the people have greatest prerogative: in neither the Prince. Of the last sort was the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians*, who by that forme of government which *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, sometimes fettered their Princes, sometimes put them to death; such were the petty Kings in *France* in *Cæsars* time, who were oftentimes arraigned and executed: and the Princes of the *Leodienses*, as *Ambiorix* confessed, had no greater power over their subjects, than their subjects had over them. And of the second condition were the *Roman* Emperours at the first, being subject to the censure of the *Senat*; and such are now the Emperours of *Germany*, whom the other Princes by their Aristocraticall power, doe not only restraîne, but sometimes remove; such are the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweveland*, who are many times by their Nobilitie dejected, either into prison or exile: such are the Dukes of *Venice*, and some other free States of *Italy*: And the chiefeft cause why *Lewis* Earle of *Flaunders*, was lately expelled, was for assuming unto himselfe the Cognizance of life and death, which authority was never incident to his Dignitie. In these, and such like governments, the Prince hath not absolute Regality, but is himselfe subject to that power, which is more transcendent than his, whether it be in the Nobilitie or multitude. But if the Sovereigne Majesty be in the Prince, as it was in the first three Emperours, and in the kingdomes of *Iudea* and *Israel*, and is now in the kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Spaine*, *Muscovia*, *Turkie*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, and almost all the

the kingdoms of *Asia* and *Africa*; although for his vices, he be unprofitable to the Subjects, yea hurtfull, yea intolerable; yet can they neither hazard his power, nor harme his Person, either by judicall proceedings, or by force; for neither one, nor all Magistrates, have any authoritie over the Prince, from whom all Authority is derived, and whose onely presence doth silence and suspend all interiour jurisdiction and force. And for power, what subject can assist or counsell, or conceale violence against his Prince, and not incur the high & heinous crime of *sawsonry* or *treason*; it is a common saying, *thought is free*, free indeed from punishment of secular Laws, except by word or deed it break forth into action; yet the secret thoughts against the sacred Majesty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeavour, have been adjudged to death. And some, who in auricular confession, have discovered their treacherous devises against the King in person, have for the same been executed. All laws do exempt a mad man from punishment, because their actions are not governed by their will, and the will of man being set apart, all his deeds are indifferent, neither can the body offend without a corrupt or erroneous minde, yet if a mad-man but draw his weapon upon his King, it hath been adjudged worthy death. And lest any man should surmise, that Princes for the maintenance of their own safety, and soveraigntie, are the only authors of these judgements; Let us examine with consideration, the patternes and precepts, to this purpose set forth in the sacred text. *Nabucadnezer* King of *Assyria*, wasted all *Palestine* with fire and sword, oppugned the holy Citie a great while, and at the last expugned it; slaughtered the King, burnt the Temple, carried away the holy Vessels and Treasure, and permitted the souldiers with unmercifull cruelty to spoyle and ransack all the people with fire and sword, and whom from thence had escaped, and the pestilence had spared, he led captive into *Chaldea*, and there erected his golden Image, commanding those that refused to worship it, to be cast into the fiery Furnace; notwithstanding God calleth *Nabucadnezer* his servant, and promiseth him wages for his service. And the Prophets *Ieremiah* and *Baruck*, did write unto the *Iewes* to pray for the life of him, and of *Balthazar* his sonne, that their dayes upon earth might be as the dayes of heaven: and *Ezechiel* with bitter termes upbraiderh the disloyaltie of *Zedechiah*, for revolting from *Nabuchadnezzar*, after homage done unto him. Did not *Saul* put all the Priests to death, because one of them did relieve holy and harmlesse *David*? did he not prosecute his faithfull servant, and dutifull son-in-law, yet was not he spared, nay, protected by him? And was not *David* much grieved for but taking away the lap of his garment, and afterwards caused the messenger to be slaine, that upon request, and for pittie did lend his hand (as himselfe reported) to hasten the voluntary death of that sacred King? As for the contrary examples of *Iehu*, they were done by expresse Oracle and revelation from God, and are no more set downe for our imitation, than the robbing the *Egyptians*, or any other particular or privileged commandement, but in the generall precept, which all men must ordinarily follow; not only our actions, but our speeches also, and our very thoughts are strictly charged, with duty and obedience to Princes, whether they be good or evill. The law of God ordaineth, That he that doth presumptuously against the Ruler of the people, shall die. And the Prophet *David* forbiddeth both by precept and practise, to touch the Lords annointed; *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *rayle upon the Iudges; neither speak evill of the Ruler of the people*. And the Apostles doe demand further, that even our thoughts and soules, be obedient to higher powers.

Ans.  
1399.  
R. 1.

Ierem. 25.9

Deut. 17. 12

Rom. 13. 12



An.  
1399.  
R.1.

Sap. 6.

And lest any should imagine, that they meant of good Princes onely; they speake generally of all. And further, to take away all doubt, they make expresse mention of the evill; For the power and authority of wicked Princes, is the ordinance of God. And therefore Christ told *Pilat*; That the power which he had, was given him from above. And the Prophet *Esay* called *Cyrus*, being a prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords annointed: For, God turneth the hearts even of wicked Princes to doe his will. And as *Iehosaphat* said to his Rulers, They execute not the judgement of man, but of the Lord. In regard whereof *David* calleth them gods, because they have the rule and authoritie even from God, which if they doe abuse, they are not to be adjudged by their subjects; for no power within their Dominion is superiour to theirs. But God reserveth them to their forest tryall, *Horribly and suddenly* (saith the Wise man) *will the Lord appeare to them, and a hard judgement shall they have.* The law of God commandeth, that the childe should bee put to death, for any contumely done unto the Parents; but what if the Father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for excessse of villanies, odious and execrable both to God and man? surely he deserveth the greatest degree of punishment, and yet must not the sonne lift up his hand against him, for no offence can be so great, as to be punished by parricide. But our Countrey is (or ought to be) more deare to us than our Parents. And the Prince is the Father of the Countrey, and therefore more sacred and deare to us, than our Parents by nature, and must not be violated, how imperious, how impious foever he be? doth he command or demand our purses or persons? we must not shun the one, nor shrink from the other; for as *Nehemiah* saith, Kings have dominion over the cattle of their subjects at their pleasure. Doth he injoyne those actions, which are contrary to the lawes of God, we must neither wholly obey, nor violently resist, but with a constant courage, submit our selves to all manner of punishment, and shew our subjection, by suffering and not performing; yea, the Church hath declared it to be an heresie, to hold, that a Prince may be slaine, or deposed by his subjects, for any default or disorder of life, or default in government. There will be faults so long as there be men; and as wee endure with patience, a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasonable weather; so must we tolerate the imperfections of Rulers, and quietly expect either reformation or alteration. But alas! what such cruelty, what such impietie, hath King *Richard* committed? examine the imputations objected, with the false circumstance of aggravation, and you shall finde but litle of truth, or of great moment; it may be many oversights have escaped (as who lives without offending) yet none so grievous to be termed tyranny, as proceeding rather from unexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counsell, than from any naturall or wilfull malice. Oh! how should the world be pestered with tyrants, if subjects might be permitted to rebell, upon pretence of tyranny? how many good Princes should often be suppressed by those by whom they ought to be supported? if they but levy a Subsidie, or any other taxation, it shall be judged oppression; if they put any to death for traiterous attempts against their persons, it shall be exclaimed at for cruelty; if they shall doe any thing against the good liking of their people, it shall be proclaimed tyranny.

But let it be that without desert in him, or authoritie in us, King *Richard* must be deposed; yet what right hath the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Crown? or what reason have we, without right, to give it him? If he make Title as heire to King *Richard*, then must he stay King *Richards* death; for no man

can succeed as heire to the living ; But 'tis well knowne to all men, who are not wilfully blind, or grossly ignorant : that, there are some yet alive, lineally descended from *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, whose issue by the judgement of the high Court of Parliament, in the eighth yeare of King *Richards* reigne, was declared heire apparant to the Crowne in case King *Richard* should die without issue. The claime from *Edmond Crouchback*, I passe over the authors thereof, themselves being ashamed of so absurd an abuse ; And therefore all the pretence now on foot, is by right of conquest, and the Kings resignation and grant, and the consent of the many : it is bad stuffe that will take no colour ; what conquest can a subject make against a Sovereigne, where the warre is insurrection, and the victory high treason ? King *Richards* resignation being in prison, is an act of exaction by force, and therefore of no force to bind him ; And by the lawes of this realme, the King by himselfe cannot alienate, the ancient jewells and ornaments of the Crowne, much lesse give away his Crowne and Kingdome. And custome we have none, for the vulgar to elect their King, but they are alwayes tyde to accept of him, whom the right of succession enables to the Crowne, much lesse can they make good that Title, which is by violence usurped ; For nothing can be said to be freely done, when libertie is restrained by feare ; As for the deposing of *Edward the Second*, it is no more to be urged, than the poisoning of King *John*, or the murdering of a lawfull Prince : wee must live according to lawes, not examples, yet the kingdome then was not taken from lawfull successors ; But if we looke back to times past, we shall finde that these Titles were more strong in King *Stephen*, than they are now in the Duke of *Lancaster*, for King *Henry* the first being at libertie, neither restrained, nor constrained, the people assented to this designement, and thereupon without feare or force he was annointed, and crowned King. Yet *Henry Fitzempresse*, having a neerer right to the Crowne by his Mother (notwithstanding his Father was a stranger, and he borne beyond the Seas) never ceased the prosecution of bloody warres, to the great effusion of blood, and spoyling the Countrey, untill his lawfull inheritance was assured him. It terrifieth me but to thinke, how many flourishing kingdoms have been by such contentions, either rent by intestine division, or subdued to foraine Princes, under pretence of assistance and aid. This Kingdome hath had too wofull experience of these severall mischiefs, and yet neither examples of other Countreys, or miseries of our owne, are sufficient to make us be wary. Certainly, I feare, it will be-tide us, as it did to *Esops* *Frogges*, who being desirous to have a King, had a beame given them, the first fall whereof affrighted them, but when they saw it lie still, they contemptuously insulted thereon, and desired a King of more active spirit ; Then a Storck was sent them, which stalking amongst them, daily devoured them. King *Richards* mildnesse hath bred in us this scorne, interpreting it to be cowardise and dulnesse of nature ; I dare not say (yet give me leave to suspect) with greater courage, wee may finde greater crueltie. And thus have I declared my opinion, with more words, you may perhaps conjecture, than wisdom ; yet fewer than the waight of the cause doth require : And I doe resolutely conclude, that wee have neither power, nor policie, either to Depose King *Richard*, or in his place to Elect Duke *Henry* ; That King *Richard* remaineth still our Sovereigne Lord, and therefore it is not lawfull for us to give judgement against him ; That the Duke whom you are pleased to stile King, hath more transgressed the King and Realme, than *Richard* hath done either against him or us ; For he being

An.  
1399.  
R. 1.

An.  
1399.  
R.I.

banished the Realme for ten yeares by the King and Councell (amongst whom his owne Father was chiefe) and given oath not to returne without speciall licence; He hath not onely broken his oath, but disturbed the peace of the Land, dispossessed the King of his Royall estate, and now demandeth judgement against his person, without offence proved, or defence heard; if this perjurie, and this injury move not, yet let both our private and publike dangers somewhat withdraw us from these violent proceedings.

The Bi-  
shop com-  
mitted.

This speech was diversly taken, as mens affections were diversly hurried, betwixt hope, feare, and shame; but the most part did seeme to stand for Duke Henry. Whereupon the Bishop was attached by the Earle Marshall, and committed to the keeping of the Abbot of *westminster*, but presently after to Prison in the Abby of Saint *Albones*; His Counsell and conjecture then contemned, was after approved of (when too late) both in the Kings time. during whose raigne, no yeare passed without slaughter and execrations, but more in the time succeeding, when within the space of thirty six yeares, twelve set battells upon this quarrell were fought within the Realme by natives onely, and above fourescore Princes of the blood Royall, fell by each others sword.

It was concluded notwithstanding what the Bishop had spoken, that King *Richard* should be kept in a large Prison, with all manner of Princely maintenance; And if any should attempt to rere warre for his deliverance, that he should be the first man should suffer for that attempt. The Acts of Parliament of the eleventh yeare of King *Richard* were revived, and those of the one and twentieth wholly repealed, and all in that Parliament attainted, were restored to their Titles and inheritances, without suing livery; And also to such goods whereof the King had not been answered, except the rents and issues of their lands.

Hereupon *Richard* Earle of *Warwick*, is delivered out of prison, and the Earle of *Arundels* sonne restored to his inheritance; others also that stood banished, or were in prison, recovered their liberty and estate; it was enacted, that none that came with *Henry* against *Richard*, should be impeached or troubled. To the Earle of *Westmerland*, the King gave the County of *Richmond*, to the Earle of *Northumberland* the *Isle of Man*, to hold of him by the service of bearing the Sword, wherewith he entred into this Kingdome before him. Divers others his followers he advanced to places of highest note, some for desert, but most to win their favour, and perhaps projecting a plot for partakers, if times should change; For in many actions, men take more care to prevent revenge, than to lead an innocent life.

Nobles  
degraded  
of their  
Titles.

It is likewise ordered, that the plotters and procurers of the Duke of *Glocesters* murther should be strictly enquired after, and severely punished. And judgement was given against the Appellants of the Earles of *Warwick* and *Arundell*, and that the Dukes of *Aumerles*, *Sussex*, and *Exceter*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Glocester*, who were there present, should lose their Titles of Honour, and forfeit their estate in all the lands they had, which was formerly belonging to the Appellees; and that all their Letters patents concerning the same, should be surrendered into the Chancery to be cancelled; and for their own inheritance to be at the mercy of the King. That they should give no Liveries to retainers, nor keepe more than should be necessary; That if any of them did adhere or assist the Deposed King *Richard*, against the Decree of his Deposition, that they should suffer as in high treason: And for that, many of the common people did murmur:

That



That many the Officers had grievously extorted, either by conniveny or secret support of the Lords; whose Officers were removed, and the corruption purged. Then were Proclamations made, that if any man had by strong hand been oppressed by any of the Lords, or by any under-officers to them, been wronged or abused, his complaint proved, the delinquent should give him plenary recompence.

The execution of these Nobles was much questioned. The importunity of the people, and the persuasions of many great ones drew that way, but policy was against it, especially the opinion of Clemency, which seemed needfull in a new, not well settled estate. In this Parliament the Lord Fitzwater appealed the Duke of Aumerle upon points of high Treason; the like did the Lord Morley to the Earle of Salisbury, and above twenty Appellants more gaged battell, but the King purposing to lay the foundation of his government by favour, and not by force, gave pardon and restitution alike to all, upon security for their allegiance; and moderately admonished, and as it were, intreated the one part, that old griefes and grudges should not be renewed, but altogether buried; The other part he desired to be afterwards more circumspect of their actions; and for the time past rather to forget they ever were in fault; than to remember that they were pardoned: No punishment was inflicted on any, onely the Earle of Sarum and the Lord Morley, who had been in especiall grace with King Richard. These two were committed, but at the intercession of their friends they were quickly released, the rest (but especially the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Excester, the Governour of Callice) he received freely to favour. Aumerle was Cousin german to both Kings. Excester halfe Brother to King Richard, and Brother-in-law to King Henry, as having espoused his Sister, the Lady Elizabeth. The greatest crime they could enforce against them, was their being firme to King Richard, because they did not onely stontacke his dejection, but stirre more than others, and assay to raise forces on his behalfe. The Dukes confessed the first accusation, affirming they were unfortunately faithfull to King Richard, but as they that are once false, prove seldome after firmly found, so they that have approved themselves true to one Prince, may be the better trusted by another. The King did rather admit this as a defence, than remit it as a fault, affirming that such examples were not to be misliked of Princes, and did afterwards by courtesie and liberality, endeavour to make them firme and faithfull unto him.

This fact was diversly interpreted, according to mens severall dispositions, some admiring the Kings moderation, others disallowing his confidence: And though these meanes have to that purpose prevailed with some, yet the common course may move us to conjecture, that there is small assurance to be had in reconciled enemies, whose affections for the most part, are like to glasse, which being once crackt, will never be otherwise than crazed and ever unsound. During this time of Parliament held at Westminster, the Archbishop had convoked a Synod, which was held in Pauls Church, to whom the King sent the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, who declared to the Clergie, that they were not sent to them from the King to require any moneys from them, but to acquaint them with the Kings resolution, which was to confirme all their priviledges and immunities unto them, and to joyne with them as they should desire him, in the punishment of all hereticks and opposites to their religion received; for which so doing, he craved but their supplications to God for the safety of him and his posterity, and pro-

An.  
1399.  
R.I.  
Officers  
removed.

Ann.  
1400.  
R.2.

Burbon sol-  
liciteth the  
Inhabi-  
tants of  
Guyan to  
revolt.

The Earle  
of Worces-  
ter sent to  
Guyan.

prosperity of the kingdome, which was by all there present, religiously promised. Now to palliate all prejudice and hard opinion which other Princes might haply conceive of these his proceedings, He dispatched Embassadours to divers his bordering neighbours, intimating to them respectively, both by what Title, and whose favour he had obtained the Kingdome: To Rome he sent the Bishop of Hereford, Sir John Cheney, Knight, and John Cheney, Esquire; To France, the Bishop of Durham, and the Earle of Worcester: into Spaine, the Bishop of Saint Asaphs, and Sir William Par: into Albaine, the Bishop of Bangor, and others; most of these Princes (as in a matter which little concerned them, either in point of honour or hatred, seemed to take no notice of what was done, or were easily perswaded, that all was done well. But Charles of France, was so disquieted with this dishonourable dealing with his Son-in-law, that his passion, upon the first relation thereof, put him into his old fit of phrenzie, but recovered thereof, he provided for to revenge the injury. Many of the Nobilitie of France were forward, to set a-foot this enterprize, but especially the Earle of Saint Paul, who had married King Richards halfe Sister; so that defiance is sent, and on both sides preparation for warre is made. These novelties much animated the Aquitains (being under the English command) some were grieved at the infamous blemish of disloyalty, which was cast upon the Nation; others feared their being made a prey to the tyranny of the French, against whom they had cause to suspect, that England being distracted by civill factions, either would not attend, or could not be able to beare them out; But the Burdigians were principally perplexed with King Richards wrongs, because he was borne and bred in their Citie. The Frenchmen generally were nothing displeased at this discontentment of the Aquitains, supposing that opportunity was now offered, to regain the possession of the Duchy of Guian, if either power or policy were seasonably applied. Hereupon Lewis Duke of Burbon, came downe to Angiers, who from thence solicited the chiefe Townes of Guian by faire speeches, and large promises, to change their allegiance, but the Lieutenant there, Sir Robert Knowles, with all diligence and industry, laboured to suppress the mutinous, to stay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to retaine all in due obedience and order: But he prevailed very little, his Army being but weake, and the people stiffe-necked; Neither did Burbon much prevaile, due consideration being had, how heavy the yoke of France was, above the subjection of the English, having beene well acquainted with the tributes, and taxes, wherewith the Frenchmen were usually taxed, who had in every Country assigned Lieutenants and Treasurers, the one to draw the blood, the other the substance of the slavish-made subjects, whose cruelty and covetousnesse, laid hold, without exceptions, of all, the one tormenting by force, the other by law. Thus like a ship that the tyde driveth one way, and the wind another; betwixt obedience and revolt, stood the Aquitaines, they were willing enough to displease the English, but most unwilling to indanger or undoe themselves, by adhering to the French; upon advertisement whereof, the Earle of Worcester, with a Company of able and willing Souldiers, is sent into Guyan, who not by unseasonable exprobrating their fault, but by reason convincing it, partly by his wisdom and credit, and partly by his authoritie and power, so terrified the wavering multitude, that he won them to his opinion, and kept their allegiance; The graver sort with respect of dutie and faith, the rest with regard of feare and danger. Then he tooke their oaths for obedience unto King Henry, and planted garrisons in places

of import without molestation, if they remained durifull; and yet of force sufficient to keepe them under, if they should attempt to rebell; and then returned to *England*, there shewing a faire example of moderation, in seeming rather to have found than made the *Aquitaines* durifull Subjects. This stirre no sooner stinted, when another more desperately dangerous did arise; For divers who had dissembled, or did repent the furtherance they had used to the advancement of King *Henry*, conspired to compass his destruction, whether for favour to King *Richard* (as the nature of man is to behold sudden miseries with the eyes of pitie) or for envie to King *Henry*, as commonly wee can endure excessive fortune no where so little, as in those that have been in equall degree with our selves; or whether upon distaste received in the late Parliament, or in disdaine, to see others goe before them in the Princes favour, it is uncertaine; many sought to revenge their unjust anger with revolting.

There was in those times an Abbot of *Westminster* that imployed his studies, not as others, to cloke their idleness and sloth under pretext of Religion, making a seeming shew of sanctitie, and a solid practice of gaine and promotion, but to enable himselfe for counsell and direction in publick affaires, who for the generall opinion of his wisdom and integritie, was in good credit with King *Richard*, and had accompanied him in his last expedition into *Ireland*. This Abbot calling to minde a speech of King *Henries*, when he was but Earle of *Darby*, that Princes had too little, and religious men too much, knowing the saying to be too true, for at that time the riches of the Clergie was growne so great, that they were beheld by the eyes of envy; and withall observing the generall passages in those times tended to the abridging of the regular power, wherein, lest Avarice should appeare open-faced, policy was pretended, and the excesse thought dangerous, both to the King and Clergie, as likely to cause want in the one, and wantonnesse in the other; and that thereupon in Parliament divers Bills were formerly put up in King *Richards* time, to repress the increase of Religious possessions, and that inquisition, and redresse might be had against such of the Clergy, as under licence to purchase ten pounds, did purchase forty and more *per annum*; and against such Ecclesiasticall persons, as caused their villanes to marry free women inheritable, whereby their lands might come to those religious persons possession; And that it was there likewise moved, that the King should seize into his hands, all temporall livings of religious houses, as being rather a burden, than benefit to Religion. And that upon these, and such like Petitions, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, in behalfe of the Clergie of their Provinces, were often-times enforced to make their solemne protestations in Parliament; That if any thing were attempted, in restraint of the libertie of the Church, they would in no wise assent, but utterly disclaime the same; which protestations were respectively enrolled: So that now, partly upon love to King *Richard*, and partly upon feare, lest King *Henry* would be as ready to invade, as he was to inveigh against the riches of the Church. This Abbot blew the first coales, and brought fewell to the fire of this Confederacy; He invited to his house, upon a solemne feast day in Michaelmasse terme, those that he had sounded to be most found to his purpose: The chiefe of which, were such as in the Parliament before had in some sort been touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconciliation, the harme did seeme to be closed up: Their names were *John Holland* Duke of *Exceter*, *Thomas Holland* his brothers sonne, Duke of *Surrey*; *Edward*

An.  
1400.  
R.2.

The Abbot of Westminster's proceedings.



Ann.  
1400.  
R. 2.

The Duke  
of Excester  
perswasi-  
ons to re-  
bell.

Edward, Duke of *Aumerle*; *John Montacute*, Earle of *Sarum*; *Hugh Spencer*, Earle of *Clocester*; *John*, Bishop of *Carlile*; *Sir Thomas Blunt*, and *Magdalen*, one of King *Richard's* Chaplaines, who in feature and favour, so resembled King *Richard*, that he was afterwards affirmed to be him indeed.

After dinner they withdrew themselves into a private Chamber to Council, where the Duke of *Excester* (who was mainly bent to restore or revenge the cause of his deposed brother) declared to the rest, the allegiance they had sworn to King *Richard*, the honours and preferments whereunto they were by him advanced: That they were therefore bound both in conscience by the one, and kindnesse by the other, to take his part against all men. That King *Henry*, contrary to both, had dispoiled him of his Royall Dignity, and unjustly possessed himselfe thereof, whilst they stood looking on, and shewed neither the obedience of subjects, nor love of friends: That King *Henry* by violent invading, fraudulently insinuating himselfe into the Kingdome of his sole Sovereigne, was but a tyrant and an usurper, and such an one, as it was lawfull for any one, at any time, by any means, to throw downe, without respect whether he be good or evill; for it is lawfull for no man, under the pretence and shew of goodnesse, to draw Sovereignie to himselfe; That the examples of best governed Common-wealths, did not onely permit this action, but highly honoured the actor with Statues and Garlands, and also rewarded them with titles of Nobilitie, and all the wealth of the suppressed Tyrant: and lesse he could not esteeme King *Henry*.

That this enterprise, would be very profitable to the republicke, by extinguishing those warres that the *Scots* menaced, the *French* prepared for, and the *Welshmen* had already begun upon this quarrell. That he did not distrust, but it might be accomplished by open hostilitie; but he thought it more sure for him, and safe for the Common-wealth, to put first in practise some secret policie: And to that purpose it was proposed and approved, that a solemne Justs should be notified to be kept at *Oxford* in Christmasse holydayes, between him and twenty more on his part, and the Earle of *Salisbury* and twenty more on his part, to which King *Henry* should be invited; And when he was therein observed to be most intentive, he should suddenly be surprized by such, which without suspition might at that time be assembled, both for number and preparation sufficient for the exploit; And thereby King *Richard* presently restored to libertie and State.

The Con-  
spirators  
plot.

This devise was at once uttered and approved, and so resolving on the enterprise, they took a solemne oath of faith and secrecy, to the houre of death, each to other; And an Indenture Sextipartite was likewise made betwixt the Lords, wherein they bound themselves respectively each to other, to doe the best of their devoyre, for the destruction of the one, and delivery of the other King: which was interchangeably subscribed, sealed, and delivered: They likewise concluded, what forces should be gathered, where and by whom they should be ordered and placed, and to whose trust the execution of this exploit should be committed.

In pursuance hereof, the Duke of *Excester* came to the King at *Windsor*, and desired that he would vouchsafe to honour with his presence, the martiall exercise that was intended betwixt him and the Earle of *Sarum* at *Oxford*; and be pleased to be Judge of their performance, if any controversie should arise. The King perswading himselfe, that that was really intended, which was so formally pretended, easily yeilded to his request; where-  
upon,

upon the Duke with the rest of the Confederates did disperse themselves, and according to direction made their preparations, and furnished themselves with all things necessary for the accomplishment of their plot; and at the time agreed upon, addressed themselves to *Oxford*, well accompanied with horse and foot, where they all meet except the Duke of *Aumerle*.

The King hearing of their departure, determined the day following to follow, according to promise and appointment: The Duke of *Aumerle*'s absence gave just cause of doubt to the rest of his complices, and to be ascertained of the cause of his stay, they send a Post unto him, but before his arrivall, the Duke was departed from his house towards *Oxford*, but by the way went to visit his Father, the Duke of *Torke*. As they sate at dinner, his Father espied a labell of one of the sextipartite Indentures hanging out of his bosome, and demanded what it was; the Sonne humbly craved pardon, and said, it was nothing that any way concerned him; the young Dukes change of countenance argued some guilt, which bred some suspition in *Torke*, and thereupon swore and said, By saint *George*, but I will see it; and then whether upon precedent jealousy, or some present cause to doubt of some strange stratagem, it is uncertaine, but he tooke it away from him by force; The contents whereof when he had perceived, with a fierce countenance and speech, he said; I see Traitour, that idlenesse hath made thee so mutinous, that thou playest with thy faith as children with sticks: Thou hast already once been faithlesse to King *Richard*, and turnst thou false againe now to King *Henry*? Thou knowest in open Parliament I became bound, body and goods for thy allegiance, and can neither thy owne duty, nor my desert, re-straine thee from seeking both our destructions: in faith, but I will rather help forward thine; And calling to make ready his horse, he prepared to post to the King. It was no time now for the Duke to consult with his friends, or to consider with himselfe, what was best to be done, but takes horse and posts towards *Windsor* another way, and was gotten thither before his Father, and pretending some strange and sudden occasion, causeth the gates of the Castle to be lockt: and alleaging some cause so to doe, taketh the keyes thereof with him to the King: in whose presence when he came, he prostrates upon the ground, beseecheth the King of mercy and forgiveness; The King no sooner demanded the offence, when he with disturbed countenance and speech, discovered to the King all the plot, and the names of the Conspirators.

The King neither seemed rashly to beleieve, nor negligently to distrust the Dukes relation, and with pollicie it stood not to entertaine the discovery, with harsh and violent termes. Therefore with gracious speeches he comforted the Duke; And if this be true, said he, wee pardon you, if feined, be it at your perill. By this time the Duke of *Torke* is arrived, and admitted into the Kings presence, to whom he delivereth the Counterpane of the confederacy; which when the King had read, he complained of the unconstant disposition of those men, whom neither cruelty could make firme to King *Richard*, nor clemency to him, but upon mislike of every present government, were desirous of any change. Whereupon he deferred his journey, and determined to attend at *Windsor*, what course the Conspirators would take: knowing right well, that in civill tumults, an advised patience, and opportunity well taken, are the onely weapons of advantage: and that it is an especiall point of policy, to make use of an adversaries oversight, in the meane time, he directs his Letters to the Earle of *Northumberland* his high Constable; and the Earle of *Cumberland* his high Marshall, and to other his friends,

An.  
1400.  
R.2.

The Duke  
of *Torke*'s  
speech to  
his Son.

The Duke  
of *Aumerle*  
discove-  
reth the  
Conspira-  
cy.

Ann.  
1400.  
R.2.

The King  
leaveth  
Windſor.

friends, of theſe ſudden and unexpected accidents. All this time the Conſederates hearing nothing of *Aumerle*, and ſeeing no preparation for the Kings coming, were reſolved that their conſpiracy was diſcovered, and calling to minde, that once before they had been pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded all hope of further mercy; whereupon they deſperately reſolved, to proſecute that by open armes, wherein their privy praſtiſes had fayled; firſt they apparelled *Magdalen* in princely attire, and gave forth that he was King *Richard*, who by favour or negligence of his Keepers, was eſcaped out of Priſon, and now implored the faith and aid of his loving ſubjects. Then they diſpatched meſſengers to *Charles* King of *France*, deſiring his aſſiſtance in behalfe of his Son-in-law. The common people commonly changeable, as prone to pitie, as afore they were too forward in cruelty, earneſtly wiſhed the enlargement of King *Richard*, and wiſhing it, were eaſily drawne to beleve it; in which imaginary conceit, the preſence of *Magdalen* did ſtrongly confirme them; And ſo either upon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they joyned themſelves in great troopes to the Lords, deſiring nothing more, than to be a meanes by which *Richard* might be reſtored. Then the Conſpirators with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknowne, advanced forward in battaile array towards *Windſor* againſt King *Henry*, as againſt an enemy to the State, they being forty thouſand ſtrong; upon notice of their approach, the King ſecretly with a ſmall traine, the next Sunday-night after New-yeares day, departed from *Windſor* Caſtle to the Tower of *London*, and the ſame night before day the Conſpirators came to the Caſtle, where miſſing their expected prey, they were divided in opinions, which way to take, ſome adviſed ſpeedily to follow to *London*, and not to permit him liberty to unite his forces; that Winter could not properly be called a let, but in idle and peaceable times; that in civill diſſentions, nothing is ſo ſafe as ſpeed, and advantage increaſeth more by diſpatching than deferring; that whiſt ſome were in feare, ſome in doubt, and others ſuſpiciouſly ignorant, the Citie (nay the whole Realme) might be poſſeſſed, and that many armies whoſe fury at firſt ruſh, could not be reſiſted, by delayes did diſſipate, and waſte to nothing.

The Major  
of *London*  
furniſheth King  
*Henry* with  
Archers.

Others that would ſeeme to be, but were not, out of a daſtardly diſpoſition, perſwaded rather firſt to ſet King *Richard* at libertie, for, if their counterfeiting ſhould be diſcovered, before they had really his perſon in poſſeſſion, the people would fall from them, which would be to their utter conſuſion. By their perſwaſion they gave over the purſuit, and retired to *Colbrook*, and there delayed the time of action in deliberation, neither being couragiously quick, nor conſiderately ſtayed, but ſubject to vacillation: and thereby began every day more than other to be vilipended, decreaſing both in opinion, power, and hope. The Major of *London* is commanded by the King, to levie power in armes for his aſſiſtance, who preſently furniſhed him with three thouſand Archers; beſides a ſufficient guard left for and in the Citie. Thus aſſiſted, the King with twenty thouſand able Souldiers from *London*, came to *Hounſlow*-Heath, there ſtaying, braved his enemies, and contemning their diſorderly multitude; but the enemies, either for feare of their Kings power, or diſtruſt of their owne, or lingring untill their expected ayd was come out of *France*, reſuſed to joyne. And it is questionable, whether they ſhewed greater courage in ſetting up the danger, or cowardiſe in declining it, when it was preſented unto them; from thence they went to *Sunning* neere *Reading*, where Queen *Iſabel* lay: to whom upon the plaine ſong aforeſaid, fame



fame had descanted, that King *Richard* was at *Pomfret* with an hundred thousand men well appointed; and that for feare of him, King *Henry* with his was fled to the Tower of *London*. All which was as lightly beleaved; as it was idly told. Whereupon shee defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his Cognizance from those, that as his servants attended upon her; and having therewith somewhat eased her swolne heart, she with the Lords departed to *Wallingford*, and from thence to *Abington*, stirring up by the way the people, to take armes in ayd of King *Richard*. At length they came to *Cicester*, and there tooke up their lodgings. The Duke of *Surry*, and the Earle of *Salisbury* in one Inne; the Duke of *Exceter*, and the Earle of *Glocester* in another Inne; the Army encamped in the fields. The Bayliffe of the Towne suspecting what was true, that these guests were no good subjects, besets the house where the Duke of *Surry* lay, who with his retinue growne desperately bold, made strong defence against the assaylants. The Duke of *Exceter* and his Company, had not force enough to rescue their Companions. Whereupon a Priest of their consort, supposing thereby to divert the Townsmen from the assault, set divers houses on fire; but the fire more inflamed the Townsmens fury, and made them insist more obstinately in the attempt, swearing not to rescue their losses, but revenge them; and quench the flames with the Traytors blood. The Earle of *Exceter*, and they that were with him, perceiving the force of the assaylants to increase, and that it was impossible for so few to sustaine the fury of so many obstinately bent, they fled out of the backside towards the Campe, intending to bring the Army to the rescue. But the Souldiers having heard the alarum, and seeing the fire within the Towne, supposing the King was entred with his forces, were struck with a sudden and causlesse feare, and wanting Commanders of courage to confirme them, they disbanded and fled; and whilst every one sought to save one, they brought themselves and all to confusion.

The Duke of *Surry* and his company manfully maintained the fight, with great bloodshed on all sides, from midnight untill three of the clock the next after-noon, and then being inferiour in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle of *Salisbury* were both wounded to death, and taken, and that evening dying, their heads were strooke off and sent to the King to *London*. There were then taken prisoners, Sir *Bennet Sherley*, Sir *Bernard Brockas*, Sir *Thomas Blount*, and twenty eight Lords, and men of note, who were afterwards upon King *Henries* comming to *Oxford*, sent thither unto him, and there executed. The Duke of *Exceter*, with Sir *John Sherley* fled into *Essex*, from whence many times they attempted to have escaped to *France*, but by contrary winds were driven back againe, and then lurking in secret places, the Duke was taken and lead to *Plashey*, and there beheaded. There wanted not some in those times that made conjectures, that now the Duke of *Glocesters* death, was brought to be reckoned for, who by *Exceters* counsell and contrivance, in the same place had beene wrongfully apprehended. An example for those which square out their actions by the crooked line of their pleasure, or power, to other mens disprofit or disparagement; but punishment of such impietie, though it be prolonged, doth never faile, but commeth at length, and then surely, though perhaps slowly. This Duke of *Exceter* was a man of high Parentage, great power, and honourable Alliance, Created Earle of *Huntington* in the eleventh yeare of King *Richard* now deposed: in the one and twentieth he was Created Duke of *Exceter*, and upon the resignation of the place, and release of the right thereto, by

An.  
1400.  
R.2.  
Queen I.  
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The inha-  
bitants of  
*Cicester* as-  
sault the  
Consoi-  
rators.

Ann.  
1400.  
R.2.

*Aubrey de Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, was made that yeare Lord Chamberlaine of *England*, and married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Blaunch* his wife; by whom he had issue, *Richard* that dyed young, *John* afterwards Duke of *Exceter*, and Earle of *Huntington*; *Edward* that dyed without issue, and a Daughter named *Constance*, first married to *Thomas Mowbray*, sonne and heire of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, and after to *John* Lord *Gray* of *Ruthyn*.

He was popular, and openly praise-worthy, but his secret actions were hardly censured; he was partaker of all his brothers vices, and of counsell to many of them, yet somewhat more circumspect and close, and not so much partaker of his prosperitie, as violently carried with the torrent of his misery.

*Thomas Spencer* Earle of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but in the way was taken and beheaded at *Bristol*; he married *Constance*, Daughter of *Edmond* of *Lazgly* Duke of *Yorke*, and had issue, *Richard* that dyed young, *Elizabeth* dyed young, and *Isabell* who was borne seven moneths after her Fathers death, and was first married to *Richard Beauchamp*, Earle of *Worcester*, by whom shee had issue, *Elizabeth*; but her second husband was *Richard Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwick* (cousin-german to her first husband) by whom shee had issue, *Henry*, afterwards Earle of *Warwick*.

The counterfeite of King *Richard* flying into *Scotland*, was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and from thence drawne, and hanged, and quartered, and one *Ferby*, another of King *Richards* Chaplaines, with him: divers others of all sorts, Lords and Gentlemen, with a great number of common souldiers, were in other places put to death, insomuch, that the King, though otherwise of a moderate and peaceable disposition, seemed in this too too vindicative of his owne injury, or rather in maintaining the injury that he had done.

The heads of the chiefe Conspirators were pitched upon poles, and set over *London* bridge; lamentable spectacles of heads and quarters of unfortunate dismembred wretches, were visible in many parts of this Realme, putrifying above ground, not all for desert, but many to satisfie either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; Insomuch, that some of those of deepest apprehension, openly gave forth, That in short time there would be just cause to wish King *Richard* againe, as being more tolerable, to indure the crueltye of one, than of many; and to live where nothing, than where any thing might be permitted, was most safe.

The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house and head this Conspiracy took life and light, hearing of these disasters, going from his Monastery Grange neere *Westminster*, was taken with a dead Palsie, and suddenly dyed speechlesse. And although in this enterprife, accident gave policie the check, and by a strange fortune, which wisdom could not prevent, overturned the project; yet it is apparant, that this Abbot first moved the stone, that rowling along, was likely to turne King *Henry* out of his chaire. The Bishop of *Carle* was condemned for his treason, but the extremitie of his passion, closed up his dayes, and prevented the violence and shame of publique execution. King *Richard* as afore having abdicated his Regality, did but a short time enjoy that sweet securitie, wherewith he so flattered himselfe; For first his goods, which he had given in satisfaction of the wrongs by him done, were shared amongst his enemies, and he removed first to the Tower of *London*, and then from thence to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*, where being kept in straight prison, innocent and ignorant of this offence,

offence, was notwithstanding made a partner in the punishment ; For King *Henry* observing how farre the Lords might have prevailed with their late stratagem, (for if their stomacks had beere but answerable to their strength, and their bold beginning had not ended in faintnesse and sloth, they might have driven him to an hard hazard) he caused King *Richard* to be put to death, thereby to make sure, that no man should cloak open rebellion, under the colour of following sides ; nor countenance his conspiracy, either with the person or name of King *Richard*. But whether he did expressely command his death or no, it is a question ; but out of question he shewed some liking and desire to the action, and gave approvement thereto when it was done.

The report went that King *Richard* was princely served every day with abundance of costly dishes, but was not suffered to touch or taste one of them, and so perished with famine. I perswade my selfe this is meerly fabulous, for such barbarous and unnaturall cruelty against a King and a kinsman, is not likely to proceed from King *Henry* a Christian. But it is more probable, which a Writer about those times affirmeth, That King *Henry* sitting at his table sad and pensive, after a deep sigh, said, Have I never a faithfull friend that will rid me of him, whose life will breed destruction to me, and disquiet to the Realme, and whose death will be a meanes of safety and quiet to both ? And how can I be freed from feare, so long as the cause of my danger doth continue ? What security, what hope shall we have of peace, unlesse the root of rebellion be plucked up ? A knight, called Sir *Pierce* of *Exton*, hearing this, with eight of his followers posteth to *Pomfret*, and pretending warrant from the King, had entrance into the Castle ; where he commanded the Esquire who sewed to King *Richard*, to surcease his service ; whereupon, when King *Richard*, being set at Table, saw that he was not served as afore with assay, and demanded of the Esquire the reason of this his neglect of duty therein ; He was answered, that Sir *Pierce* had brought such order from King *Henry*, comming lately from the Court : *Richard* moved with this act and answer, said, The devill take thee, and *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, with that Sir *Pierce*, with his retinue before him, entred into the chamber, and locked the doore after them ; whereupon King *Richard* spying their drift, and suspecting his owne danger, stepped courageously to the first man, and wresting the Halbert out of his hands, therewith slew foure of his mischievous assailants, & with admirable resolution fought with the other, untill comming by the chaire where the King used to sit, in which the cowardly knight himselfe was got for his owne safety, he was by him stricken with a Pole-axe on the hinder part of the head, who being at the point of death, groaned forth these words, *Edward* the second, my great Grandfather, was in this manner deposed, imprisoned, and murdered, whereby my Grandfather *Edward* the third, obtained the Crown, and now is this punishment fallen upon me his next Successour. This is right for me to suffer, but not for you to doe. Your King may for a time joy at my death, and enjoy his desire, but let him qualifie his pleasure with expectation of the like justice ; for God, who measureth all our actions by the malice of our minds, will not suffer this violence to passe unrevenged. Whether these words did proceed from a distempered desire, or from the judgement of his fore-sight, they were not altogether idle. Sir *Pierce* expecting great rewards for his ungracious service, was frustrate of both, and not only missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had ; so odious are crying sinnes, even to him for whom they were committed. Hereupon at first

An.  
1401.  
R.3.



An.  
1401.  
R3.

he grew discontented, and afterwards tormented in conscience, and in a rage would often exclaime, that to pleasure one ungratefull person, he had made both himselfe and posterity infamous and odious to all the world. King *Henry*, with disquiet, held the Kingdome during his life, and so did his son, King *Henry* the fifth, in whose time, by continuall warre with *France*, the malice of the humour was otherwise exercised and spent. But his second Successor, King *Henry* the sixth, was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young sonne Prince *Henry*, imprisoned and put to death, either by command or connivence of *Edward* the fourth : and he also escaped not free, for he died not without many and manifest suspicions of poyson : And after his death his two sonnes were disinherited, imprisoned and butchered by the Usurper, the Duke of *Glocester*, who was slaine at *Bosworth* field, and so in his person (having no issue) the Tragedy ended. These are excellent examples, both to comfort them that are oppressed, and of terrour to violent oppressours; that God in his secret judgement doth not alwayes so certainly provide for our safety, as revenge our wrongs and oppressions ; and that all our unjust actions have a day of payment; and many times, by way of retaliation, even in the same manner and measure they were committed.

Thus, as most of the chiefe Writers doe agree, was King *Richard* by violence brought to his end, although all Historians agree not of the manner of the violence. He was a man of personage rather well proportioned than tall, of gracefull and comely presence, of good strength, and no abject spirit, but the one by ease, the other by flattery, were much abused and abased ; he deserved many friends, but found but few, because he bought them by his bounty, not sought them by vertuous behaviour; he was unfortunate in all his actions, which may be imputed to his slothfull carelesnesse, for he that is not provident can seldome prosper ; for his loosnesse will lose whatsoever fortune or other mens labours doe cast upon him. He lived three and thirty yeares, and reigned two and twenty. In his younger years he was too much ruled by greene heads, little regarding the counsell of the grave and judicious Councillours, which turned to the disquiet of the Realme, and his own destruction. He married two wives, the first was *Anne*, the daughter of *Charles* the fourth, and sister of *Winceslaus* King of *Bohemia* ; shee was crowned Queene the twenty two of January, 1384. but died without issue : The second wife was *Isabel*, daughter of *Charles*, the sixth King of *France*, an infant of seven yeares of age, who after his death was returned into *France*, but without Dower, because the marriage was never consummate for want of copulation : The Lord *Henry Piercy* had the conveying of her over, in Anno 1401. His dead body was embalmed and seared, and covered with lead, all save the face, and carried to *London*, where he had a solemne obsequie kept in the Church of Saint *Paul*, the King being present, and the chiefe Companies of the City : From thence he was conveyed to *Langley* Abby in *Buckingham* shire, and there obscurely interred by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbots of Saint *Albanes* and *Waltham*, without presence of the Nobility, or confluence of the Commons, and without the expence of a dinner after the celebrating of the Finnerall. But *Henry* the fifth caused his body to be taken up and removed to *Westminster*, and there interred amongst the Ancestors, with Queen *Anne* his first wife, in expiation of his fathers violent and unfaithfull dealing. It was not amisse, in regard of the Commonwealth, that he was dead ; yet they who were actors in his death, had small reason to reckon it among their good deeds. These accidents attend such

Princes

Princes, as being absolute in power, will be too resolute in will, and dissolute in life.

*Humphrey*, the sonne and heire of the Duke of *Glocester*, in his returne out of *Ireland*, where King *Richard* had left him prisoner, died of the plague at *Chester*, the newes whereof kild the Duchesse his mother. About this time died *Thomas Mowbray* the exiled Duke of *Norfolke*, who had out-lived his honour : he married two wives, both named *Elizabeth* ; the first the daughter of the Lord *Strange*, who died without issue ; the second, sister and coheire of *Thomas Fitzallain*, Earle of *Arundel*, by whom he had issue, *Thomas* and *John*, *Margaret* and *Isabel*. In this yeare also deceased *John*, Duke of *Brittain*, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, but by her he had no issue. Also this yeare died *Edmond* Duke of *Yorke*, surnamed of *Langley*, the first son of *Edward* the third ; his reputation he kept unblemished, and honour untainted ; he was not carelesse of good fame, nor greedy of greatnesse ; wary and circumspect in his behaviour ; not desirous of other mens wealth, nor too parcimonious of his owne ; he did not, by obstinate opposing himselfe against the torrent of the time, rashly hazard his fame or fall ; but by moderation attained safely that degree of praise, which others aspiring unto, by desperate courses wonne an ambitious death, without further profit : He married two wives, the first was *Isabel*, second daughter and coheire of *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom he had issue *Edward* Duke of *Albemarle*, *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Constance*, first married to *Thomas Spencer* Earle of *Glocester*, and afterwards to *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent* : his second wife was *Joane*, daughter of *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and sister and coheire of *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, but by her had no issue.

King *Charles*, though *Lucidus per inter-valla*, yet sensible of dishonour, moved with his daughters disgrace, made preparation to invade *England*, and brought downe his Army into *Picardy* ; but upon the certaine relation of King *Richard's* death, he gave over the enterprize, and sent over Embassadors into *England*, to treat, or rather intreat, that his daughter, with her Dowry, might be restored to him againe. King *Henry* gave them audience and answer, that he would speed Commissioners to *Callice*, to commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weighty affaires concerning both the Realmes ; whither he sent *Edward*, Duke of *Yorke*, and *Henry*, Earle of *Northumberland*. The French King sent the Duke of *Burbon*, and certaine others, to *Bulloigne*. These Commissioners often met, sometimes at one place, sometimes at the other. The Frenchmen instantly required their Kings daughter to be restored, without the doing whereof they had no order to treat of any thing. The English men made a proffer to have a match betwixt Prince *Henry* and the Lady ; alleaging, that there was no disparagement of birth, nor disparity of yeares betwixt them ; but thereto they would give no consent, neither would they agree to the proposition of a perpetuall amity : But in the end it was concluded, that Queen *Isabel* should be re-delivered to her father, but sans Dowry, because the mariage betwixt her and King *Richard* was never consummate, by reason whereof she was not Dowable upon the Treaty of the mariage ; The surcease from Armes was agreed upon in King *Richard's* dayes, for thirty yeares, which was now mutuall confirmed for the terme of these yeares unexpired.

Shortly after King *Henry* sent the Lady *Isabella*, under the conduct of *Thomas* Lord *Piercie*, Earle of *Worcester*, in royall state to *Callice*, being accom-

An.

14<sup>01</sup>.

R.3.

An.  
1401.  
R.3.

panied with a brave troope of honourable personages of both sexes ; she carried with her all the Jewels and Plate which she brought into *England*, with a great surpluse of rich gifts bestowed upon her by the King. At *Callice* she was received by *Valerian* Earle of *Saint Paul*, Lieutenant in *Picardy*, and by him conducted to her father, who afterwards gave her in marriage to *Charles*, sonne to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*; and so was rest, or rather respite of warre in *France* procured.

But the fire and fury of the late sedition was hardly quenched, when the Welshmen upon advantage of the doubtfull and untierled estate of King *Henry*, brake forth into a defection, before the King could either lay the ground-work of his authority, or the people frame themselves to a new obedience; and having beene taught, that common causes must be maintained by concord, they sought by assemblies to establish an association, and to set up their owne principality againe: they Created for their Prince *Owen Glendour*, a fellow of a turbulent spirit, and factious disposition, and apt to stirre up sedition & strife; and though he was of no great estate by birth, he was stout in stomacke, of an aspiring spirit, and wit somewhat above the ordinary ranke of those untrained people; bold, crafty, agile, and as he list to bend his minde, mischievous or industrious in equall degree; in desires immoderate, and rashly advenurous; more desirous to doe, than circumspect what to doe; in his younger years he was a Student at the Innes of Court at *London*, and being incensed by a verdict given against him for title of land betwixt him and the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*; and, by nature, being a man not of the mildest disposition, by this provocation he was made savage and rough, and determined either to repaire or revenge his losse, by setting the whole State on fire. Also his expences had beene too excessive for a great man to continue, which brought him to barenesse, too base for a meane man to endure, and therefore he was necessitated to doe or dare something more than ordinary; and more danger he thought there was in orderly dealing, than in hazarding rashly: and now opportunity is presented; for troublesome times are most fit for such attempts. And some likelihood there was, whilst the King and his Nobles were at variance, that harme might bee easily wrought to them both: upon these causes his desires were founded, and upon these troubles his hopes. But that his ambitious humour might beare some pretext of honest meaning, he pretended to his Countrey men the recovery of their freedome, the desire whereof is so naturally pleasing, that birds will rather live hardly abroad in the cold fields, than be daintily dieted in a warm cage; and that now occasion was fitly offered, or else never to be expected to rid them of their servility (falsly entituled peace) whilst the Kings power was wayning, and the other not yet fully waxen, either being growing weak by wasting each other; neither was there any ods which did prevaile, sith the warre touched both alike; insomuch that warre would ruine the one, and victory the other: and like the Vulture sitting on the tree, whilst the Beare and Lion fought; they need not feare prey if either fell.

Thus he exhorted them to take courage and armes. And for the introduction, to kill all the English within their territories, for liberty and Lords were incompatible: then to resume their ancient Lawes and Customes, whereby, more than by armes, Common-wealths are confirmed and continued, established and enlarged; so should they be a Nation uncorrupt, without commixture of forren manners or bloud, and so forgetting servitude, they might either live at liberty, or be Lords over others. Upon this many  
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flocked unto him, the better sort for love of liberty, other in hope of bootie, insomuch that in short time he had under his command a competent army wherewith to take the field, and to make some proove of his souldiers resolution, he set upon his old adversary the Lord *Gray*, slew many of his men, and tooke him prisoner, yet promised him releasment, if he would take his daughter to wife. But the Lord at first did not so much refuse, as scorne the offer, saying, He was too old to be a Ward, to have his marriage obruded upon him: Well, quoth *Owen*, though you be not my Ward, yet you are in my ward, and your *Ouster le maine* shall cost you double the mariage money you shall procure elsewhere. The Lord *Gray* seeing no other meanes of his deliverance, at length accepted the condition, and tooke the Damosell to wife, yet his death preceded his enlargement.

The Welshmen proceed, and breake into the borders of *Hareford* shire, doing much spoile therein, against whom *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (withdrawne for his quiet to *Wigmore* Castle) with the Gentlemen of the Countrey, to him assembled, did draw head, betweene whom was a cruell conflict, not in forme of a loose skirmish, but making a maine stand, they endeavoured by might and maine to break and beare downe each other. The courage and resolution on both sides was equall, but the Welsh exceeded in number and direction; for they were commanded by one knowne Leader, who with his presence every where assisted at need, inciting his souldiers, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises: But the English had no certaine Generall, but many confused Commanders; yea, every man was a Commander to himselfe, pressing on, or drawing back, as courage or feare did move; insomuch that they had taken a great blow that day, by ill-governed boldnesse, had not *Glendwr* upon their beginning to rout, ceased to pursue the execution, shewing himselfe more able to get the victory, than skilfull to use it: But his men being most wounded, all weary, the night approaching, and being in his enemies Country, may in good judgements quit him from that aspersiō. The night befriended the English with liberty to retire, without running away, no man appearing to follow the chase. They lost about a thousand men, who sold their lives at such a rate, that when manhood had done the worst against them, some mannish, or rather devillish women, whose rage and malice are implacable and immortall, exercised a vaine, but barbarous revenge upon their dead bodies; first by stripping them, then cutting off their privie parts and noses, the one they stuffed into their mouths, and pressed the other betweene their buttocks, yet would not suffer their carkasses, thus mangled, to be buried, untill they were ransomed by a sum of money; by which unheard-of cruell covetousnesse, the faction lost reputation and credit with the moderate sort of their owne people, who had reason to suspect, that it was not liberty but licentiousnesse which was desired; and that subjection to such in humane minds, would be more insupportable than any bondage.

In this conflict the Earle of *March* was taken prisoner, and kept close in a dark dungeon, which was cold and dampish, where he was overburdened with daily wants, and much misery, which were with the greater extremity, and in more abundance inflicted upon him, that thereby King *Henry* his kinsman should be the sooner perswaded to redeeme and ransom him; he was earnestly solicited by many of the Nobility, but principally by his kinsmen, the *Piercies*, for to procure this enlargement; but the King would not heare

An.  
1401.  
R.3.

Ann.  
1401.  
R.3.

of that care, he could have beene well contented that his sisters had beene with him there, or that all three were in heaven; for then the only blemish of his Title had beene covered over: so that it appeared thereby, that he more desired his destruction, than to procure his deliverance.

*Glendower*, by his prosperous successe, was growne now more hard to be dealt withall: proceeding further to invade the Marshes on the West side of *Severne*, where he burnt many townes, and slew much people, and returned with prey, and praises of his adherents where ever he came; for he found that weake resistance, that he seemed rather to exercise a spoile, than maintaine a warre; King *Henry* being then detained with his chiefe forces, in another more dangerous service, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeare of his reigne, had hapned unto him: For the Scots knowing that changes of Princes reignes was a time most apt for depredations, attempts, (taking advantage of the absence of all the chiefe English borderers, partly by occasion of the Parliament, and partly by reason of the Pestilence which was that yeare very hot in the North parts of the kingdome) they made a road into the County of *Northumberland*, and there did much harme; they surpris'd the Castle of *Wark* (the Captaine whereof, *Sir Thomas Gray*, was one of the Knights of the Shire for that Parliament) which they held a while, and then plundred and dismantled it, and departed; in requitall whereof, the English invaded, burnt and spoiled certaine Islands of *Orkney*, whereupon the Scots set forth a fleet under the conduct of *Sir Robert Logan*, with direction to attempt, as occasion should be offered. He purposed to have begun upon our Fishermen, but by the way he was encountred by certaine ships of *Linne*, and the greatest part of his Fleet was sunk or taken. Thus though peace continued still between both the Realms, yet a kinde of theevish hostility was daily practised, which after brake forth into open warre, upon this occasion.

*George of Dunbar*, Earle of the Marches of *Scotland*, had affianced *Elizabeth* his daughter, to *David* the sonne and heire apparent of *Robert* King of Scots, and in consideration of marriage shortly to be celebrated, he had delivered into the Kings hands a great summe of money for his daughters portion: But *Archibald* Earle of *Douglasse*, disdainig that *Dunbars* blood should be preferred before his, so wrought with the King, that Prince *David* refused the Earles of the Marches daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariel*, daughter to *Douglasse*. Earle *George* not being used to be confronted, or sit downe with disgrace, could hardly enforce his patience to endure this scorne. And first he demanded restitution of his money, not so much for desire to have it, as to pick an occasion to break his alleageance. The King refused to make payment, or give promise, but deluded him with frivolous delays, whereupon, with his family, he fled to the Earle of *Northumberland*, intending by disloyalty to revenge the indignity; and to repaire his losses by his enemies ruine, if possible: The English, with wide and open armes, embrace the opportunity, with whose helpe and assistance the Earle made divers incursions into *Scotland*, where he burnt many Townes, and slew much people, enriching himselfe with booty and spoile. King *Robert* depriveth the Earle of his honour, seizerh all his lands and possessions, and writes to King *Henry*, that as he would have the truce betweene them longer to continue, either to deliver unto him the Earle of *March* & his adherents, or else to banish them the Realme. King *Henry* perceiving, that these warres arising, had almost put the peace out of joynt, was determined not to lose the

An.  
1401.  
R. 3.

the benefit of the discontented subjects of his adversarie; whereupon he returned answer to the Herald of *Scotland*, that he was neither weary of peace, nor fearfull of warre, and ready, as occasion should change, either to hold the one, or hazard the other: But the word of a Prince was (or ought to be) of great weight; and therefore sith he had granted unto the Earle of *March* his safe conduct, it would be a great impeachment to his honour, without just cause to violate the same. Hereupon the King of *Scots* did presently proclaim open warre against the King of *England*; who thought it policie rather to begin the war in the enemies countrey, than to expect it in his own; because that land which is the seat of warre, doth commonly furnish both sides with necessary supplies, the friend by contribution; the enemy by spoile; sending certayne troops of horsemen before him, both to espie and to induce an uncertain terror upon the enemy; he entered into *Scotland* with a puissant army, and with fire and sword proceeded, sparing nor Castle, Towne or City; but burned Churches and Religious houses, so that in all places that he passed, the spectacle was ugly and grisly which he left behinde him, being such as commonly accompany the chariot of warre. They that fled before the army filled all places with feare and terror, extolling, above truth, the English forces, to diminish thereby their shame in running from them. About the end of September he besieged the Castle of *Malden* in *Edinburgh*, where Prince *David* and the Earle *Douglasse* were, the inconstancie of the one; and the ambition of the other, being the principall movers of all this losse of blood. During this siege, *Robert Duke of Albany*, the Governour (during the King of *Scots* inability through sickness to manage the businesse) sent an Herald to King *Henry*, protesting upon his honour, that if he would abide but five dayes at the most, he would either remove the siege, or lose his life. The King bountifullly rewarded the Herald, and promised in the word of a Prince, to abide there during the time by him prefixed. But six times six dayes were past, but neither Governour nor other appeared: Winter came on, victuall in the Camp failed, the Countrey was cold and comfortlesse, it rained every day in great abundance, which discommodities of weather, and want of befitting sustenance, caused the death of many a tall souldier. It may be these discommodities arising, stayed the Governour from performing his promise; for policie was against it, to hazard his men to fight, when Winter and want, two forcible foes, had given the charge upon his enemy: sure it is, that they moved the King to remove his siege, and depart out of *Scotland* unfought with; Both the Wardens of the *Marches*, were all this time in *Scotland* with the King, upon which advantage, the Scots did breake into *Northumberland*, and did some spoyle in *Banborough-shire*, the English quickly tooke the Alarm, but the Scots with as much speed retired; But when King *Henry* had discharged his Army, the Scots not so desirous of life, as revenge, made a speedy road into *England*, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Habbarton* of *Dirleton*, and Sir *Patrickke Heberne* of *Hales*, but all the hurt they did, did rather waken then weaken the English, and they themselves were somewhat encouraged, but nothing enriched by what they had got: But Sir *Patrick* puffed up with desire and hope, resolved upon a greater exploit; The people which are easily led by prosperity, in great numbers resorted unto him, but he was loath to have more fellows in the spoyle, then he thought should need in the danger, therefore with a competent Army of the men of *Loughdeane*, he invaded *Northumberland*, where he made great spoyle, and loaded his souldiers with prisoners and prey.



An.  
1401.  
R.3.

prey. They thought of no perill that might be in the retreat: so they marched loosely and licentiously, neither keeping themselves to their colours or ranks: but the Earle of *Northumberland* Vicewarden, and other borderers in good array, set upon them at a towne called *Nesby*: The Scots valiantly received the charge, and the battell was sharp; in the end the Scots ranks grew thin, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, than orderly composed; which when the Vicewarden felt, with a company which he purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches, he charged them home and routed them, Sir *Patrick* bereaved of counsell and comfort, ran up and downe from place to place, commanding many things, and presently forbidding them; and the lesse of force his directions were, the oftner did he change them; at last (as it hapneth in lost & desperate cases) every man became a Commander, but none a putter in execution, so the ranks loosed and brake, and could not be re-united: the Victor closely pursuing the advantage, Sir *Patrick* thinking of nothing lesse than either flying or yeelding, but thrusting himselfe amongst the thickest of the enemies, honourably lost his life: many of his linage, and the flower of *Loughdaane* were likewise slaine; there were taken Sir *John* and *William Cockbourne*, Sir *William Basse*, *John* and *Thomas Habington* Esquires, and a multitude of comatoun souldiers: On the English part no great number were slaine; and none of ranke or quality.

About this time King *Henry* sent his eldest daughter *Blanch*, accompanied with the Earle of *Somerset*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and others, into *Almaine*, who brought her into *Celleine*, where, with great triumph she was married to *William Duke of Bavier*, sonne (and heire to *Lewis* the Emperour.

About the midst of August, the King with a great power went into *Wales* to pursue *Owen Glendour*, but lost his labour, for *Glendour* had conveyed himselfe into his lurking holes amongst the mountains. The King through the extremity of foule weather was enforced to retire, having spoiled and burnt a great part of the Countrey round about.

The Scots under the leading of *Archibald Dowglass*, about the number of twenty thousand, with barbarous cruelty entred into *Northumberland*, making havock by the way, but at a place called *Homildon* they were encountred by the English, under the leading of *Henry Lord Piercy*, surnamed *Hotspur*, and *George Earle of March*, on holy-rood day in harvest, who put them to flight, and tooke prisoners (after the slaughter of ten thousand of them) five hundred; whereof *Mordack Earle of Fife* (the son of the Generall, who in the fight lost one of his eyes) *Thomas Earle of Murrey*, *Robert Earle of Angus*, the Earles of *Athol* and *Mentis* were chiefe; and amongst the slain were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *John Loviston*, Sir *Alexander Ramsey* of *Dalehowsey*, and twenty three other Knights. *Piercy* having put his prisoners in safe keeping, entred *Tividale*, wasting all in the way, and there besieged the Castle of *Cockclawes*, of which Sir *John Greenlow* was Captaine, who upon condition that if he were not relieved within three moneths, compounded to surrender the Castle. The first two moneths were past, and no rescue or likelihood thereof appeared; but before the expiration of the third moneth, the souldiers were sent for to attend the King in his expedition, as before, against *Glendour*, and so He raised the siege, and departed with a plentiful booty.

The French King to back *Glendour* in his traiterous designs (not so much

much for love of him, as hatred to King *Henry*) sent twelve hundred men of quality, to be Captaines and Commanders to those rebellious disorderly troops; but the winds were so contrary, and the violence of the storme such, that they lost twelve of their best ships, with their frought, and the rest with great difficulty returned to *France*; the English deriding, the whilst, the French Kings ill successe, whose enterprises, though they threatned much, yet they alwayes vanished to nothing: The report whereof so exasperated his resolutions, that forthwith he sent into *Wales* twelve thousand men, who safely landed, and joyned with the Welsh: But upon notice of the English Armies approach, suspecting their owne strength, or their partakers fidelity, amazed and heartlesse they ran to their ships, and without any service done, disgracefully turned home.

King *Henry's* Embassadours lately sent into *Britaine* for the Lady *Iane de Navar*, Duchesse of *Britaine*, the relict of *John de Mountford*, surnamed the Conquerour, with whom the King, by Procurators, had contracted matrimony, in the beginning of February returned with her in safety. The King met her at *Winchester*, where, the seventh of February, the mariage was solemnized. In the meane time *Valarian* Earle of *S. Pauls*, out of a malicious hatred to King *Henry*, with seventeen hundred men of warre, from *Harflew* landed in the Isle of *Wight*, where burning two Villages, and some few Cottages, in token of triumph he made some knights: But hearing the people of the Island to have assembled, he hasted to his ships and retired.

About that time *John* Earle of *Cleremont* (the heire of *Bourbon*) won from the English the Castles of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Mary*, and the new Castle. The Lord *de la Bret* won the Castle of *Calafyn*, of great consequence for the honour of *England* to be questioned.

The *Piercies*, Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worcester*, with *Henry Hotspur*, which in the initiation of King *Henry's* attempts, had beene both advisers and coadjutors in his proceedings, about this time began to turne retrograde to obedience; their reason was, for that the King not onely refused at their request to redeeme their kinsman *Mortimer* from *Glendours* slavery, though often by them and their friends to that purpose solicited; but likewise contrary to the law of the field and marriall custome, as they pretended, had challenged as of right pertaining to him, all such prisoners as by their martiall prowesse had beene taken of the Scots, either at *Homildon* or *Nesby*, of which they formerly (whether of curesie or duty by them, it was disputable) only had delivered unto him *Morduk*, the Duke of *Albany's* son. Nevertheless they came to the King at *Windsor*, where (of purpose to prove him) they required, that either by ranome, or otherwise, he would procure the liberty and enlargement of their cousin german, *Edmond Mortimer*, slavishly shackled and abused, as they affirmed, for being true to him. The King made answer, That the Earle of *March* was not taken prisoner in defence of his tittle, nor in his service, but willingly suffered himselfe to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of the traitor *Owen* and his Complices, and therefore neither would relieve nor ranome him: Whereupon *Henry Hotspur* brake forth, and in passion said, The heire of the Realme is bereaved of his right, and the robber will not allow him part of his owne for his redemption, and therewith the *Piercies* departed the Kings presence, and presently procured *Mortimer's* delivery. And to adde more weight to Kings *Henry's* displeasure, they entred into a league offensive and defensive with *Glendour*: And by their Proxies, in the house of the Archdeacon of

*Bangor*,

An.  
1403.  
R.3.  
The King  
married.

An.  
1403.  
R.3.

*Bangor*, they agreed upon a tripartite Indenture under their hands and seales respectively to be made, to divide the kingdome into three parts; whereby all *England*, from *Severne* and *Trent* South and Eastward, was assigned for the portion of the Earle of *March*; all *Wales*, and the lands beyond *Severne* Westward, were assigned to be the portion of *Owen Glendour*; and all the remainder of land from *Trent* Northward, to be allotted to Lord *Piercy*. This was devised or advised, say some, by *Glendour* (whom they would make a Sooth-sayer) by occasion of a Prophecie, as though King *Henry* was the Mouldwarp, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three must be the Lion, the Dragon, and the Wolfe, which should divide the land among them. But the event proved those blinde fantastick dreams of the Welsh Sooth-sayers to be *Deviationes non divinationes*. In the meane time, King *Henry* not acquainted with these conspiracies, caused a Proclamation to be made, intimating thereby, that the Earle of *March* had voluntarily caused himselfe to be taken prisoner. That the rebels having him in their custody and company, might pretend some colour wherewith to varnish such conspiracies as secretly they had complotted and contrived against his Crowne and him; And therefore his discretion for his safety advised him not to hearken to any motion for his being redeemed.

Hereupon the *Piercies*, assisted with a company of Scots (whom they, by setting their Scottish prisoners at liberty, had procured) drew to their party the Earle of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroop*, Archbishop of *York*, brother to the beheaded Earle of *Salisbury*, and many others; and with them purposed to joyne with the Captain of the Welsh. And to set the better gloss to their treasonable attempts, they framed, by way of accusation, certaine articles against the King, which they published, and to this effect sent them unto him in writing.

#### Articles against King HENRY.

**I**nprimis, That when he returned from his exilement, he made faith onely to challenge and recover his inheritance and his wives, and not to intermeddle with the King nor with his Crown, by reason of which oath, divers loyall and good subjects to King *Richard*, resorted unto him, not having any treasonable intent: But after, when he saw his power so much increased, that he might doe what he pleased, he wickedly brake his oath, and without any right, or colour-like right, procured himselfe to be made and Crowned King.

2. Item, That not onely as an Arch-traitor he had imprisoned his owne Liege Lord, and undoubted Master, King *Richard*, but had caused him to be barbarously murdered, that so with the greater security he might enjoy his Masters Crowne and Kingdome.

3. Item, that ever since the death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Kingdome and the Crowne from his kinsman *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who was the sonne and heire apparent of *Philip*, the daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, father of the new usurping King.

4. Item, That when neither present occasion nor need compelled him, he had imposed divers taxes & Subsidies upon the people, to their great grieve and impoverishing, whereof they willingly would, but durst not complaine.

5. Item, That no justice could be expected at his hand, because, that contrary



trary to the oath which he had taken when he was Crowned, he had by Letters sent into sundry Shires, and thereby procured certaine Burgeses of the Parliament, and Knights of the Shire to be chosen, whom he knew would not faile to serve his turne, as occasion should be offered.

6. And lastly, That where in honour, and for affinities sake, he ought to have ransomed or redeemed his said Cousin, the Earle of *March*, from his loathsome imprisonment (being by some of his Privie Counsell thereto often solicited) he not onely denied the said request, but falsly and untruly published and declared, that the Earle himselfe, was of his owne accord become a voluntary prisoner, to the end that Traitors and Rebels joyning with him, might have somewhat wherewith to colour such treasons as they would conspire or plot against him.

For which causes, and many others as bad, they defied him as an usurping traitor; and as an utter enemy they vowed his destruction, and the restoring of the said Earle to his right.

The King perceiving, that nothing but strength of blowes could end this strife; and being perswaded, that if he could victoriously suppress this rebellion, he should bereave his enemies from future hope to prevaille in the like attempts; with a great and well composed Army, he marched towards the Lords, forecasting in his march, how to prevent the English from joyning with the Welsh, which with a provident care he prevented; and about *Shrewsbury*, on Saturday, Saint *Mary Magdalens* eve, he encountered the *Piercies*: the Scots gave a brave on-set on the King, but he sowlcommed them, that scarce one was left unhurt, but most of them slaine; yet the Conspirators stoutly maintained the fight, and pursued it with that courage and resolution, that they were confident of good successe, untill the King, with the young Prince *Henry*, and some young branches of honourable stocks in their company (bravely resolving, rather to die honourably than to live disgracefully) put to their strengths to joyne with valour, and with a noble emulation, to give faire example each to other, they so shooke the enemies Vantguard, that *Holspur*, & some other chiefe Commanders on his side, and many thousands more, were slaine. The Earle of *Worcester* was taken Prisoner in the field, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Trussell*, and the Baron of *Kinderton*, and the rest fled. On the Kings part (besides the Earle of *Stafford*, who had but that morning revolted from the other side) were slaine Sir *Hugh Sherley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockaine*, Sir *Nicholas Gansel*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Cakverley*, Sir *John Mafsey* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gansel*, all which had beene but that morning before dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who afterwards died of the wounds there received. This *Edmond Stafford* was third sonne of Earle *Hugh*, and after the death of *Thomas* and *William*, who died without issue, was Earle of *Stafford* and Lord of *Tunbridge*; he married *Anne*, the daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Duke of *Glocester*, by whom he had issue, *Humphrey*, afterward Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Philip* that died young, and *Anne*, first married to *Edmond Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, but had no issue by him; and after was married to *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, by whom she had issue, *Henry* Duke of *Excester*. Of common souldiers the King lost about sixteen hundred, but had made slaughter of above six thousand of the Conspirators (whereof thirty six fell by his owne sword) neverthelesse *Darrelasse* once unhorsed him, and in his presence slew Sir *Walter Blunt*, who with divers others that day,

An.  
1403.  
R.3.

An.  
1403.  
R.3.

day were in all things habited alike to the King; for which so brave exploit, after *Dowglas* by the unfortunate fall of his horse (having broken two of his ribs) being taken prisoner, was by the Kings speciall command carefully dressed and attended, and ransomlesse, with great commendation, set at liberty; so farre can vertue prevaile with a generous foe.

The day following, the King with the whole Army, with great shew of zeale, gave God thanks for this victory, by his assistance so happily achieved, and then caused the Earle of *Worcester* to be beheaded, and many of the Ring-leaders of that rebellion to be drawne, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London Bridge*. This *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worcester*, and Lord high Admirall of *England*, married *Elizabeth*, eldest sister and coheire of *David* Earle of *Athol*, by whom he had issue, *Henry* Earle of *Athol*. After this the King sent *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, with the whole Army into that Countrey; but before his comming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his company, and lurking in the woods, was there famished; many of his afforiate were taken, and there put to death, and the Prince joyfully returned to the King.

Whilst the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Piercy*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and submitted himselfe to the King, with many oaths and protestations of his innocencie, as not being once acquainted with any intent of treason and rebellion. And though the King conceived not the least thought that might excuse him, yet for that time he gave him a seeming shew of faire entertainment, and for that time with gentle language and kinde countenance; as it was thought, for that he had the possession of *Barwick Castle*, and other places of strength in his power, permitted to go free, and come at his pleasure.

The *Britons*, under the leading of the Lord of *Castiles*, spoiled and burnt the towne of *Plimouth*, and returned unfought with; his speed was the more, and his fortune the better; but lest he should boast too much of his Conquest, the Westerne men, under the command of *William Wilford* Esquire, by order from the King, sent forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britaine*, tooke forty ships laden with Oyle, Sope, and *Rochel* Wines, and burnt about forty more, and then landed at *Pennarch*, burning Townes and Villages six leagues within the Countrey, together with the Town of *Saint Mathew*, and all the building there three leagues about the same, and returned laden with spolie and booty, sufficient, with advantage, to recompence the losses received at *Plimouth*.

An.  
1404.  
R.4.

A Parliament was called at *Coventry* about the feast of *All Saints*, but at *Saint Andrewes* tide, for want of good accommodation, there the same was prorogued to *London*, untill the feast of *Epiphany*.

The Frenchmen, about that time, attempted to have ransacked the Isle of *Wight*, and to that end set on land one thousand footmen, who having got together a great booty of cattell, the Islanders enforced them to their ships, and to leave their prey behinde them, with many of their men, to help to pay the damage done. An unaccustomed surcharging Subsidy of every Knights fee, whether the same were held by Mesnalty, or otherwise, twenty shillings to the King; every one that could dispend twenty shillings *per annum ultra reprises*, and so upward of what holding soever, twelve pence the pound; and above twenty pounds in goods, according to the rate, twelve pence in the pound, is in this Parliament granted, but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawne for a President, and that no Records thereof

A biting  
Subsidy.

thereof, should be kept in the Treasury or Exchequer; but that presently upon the account made, all the Rowles thereof to be burnt.

This yeare there dyed that ever to be revered with gratefull remembrance, *William* of *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, who more affecting by works of Piety and Charity, to doe good unto his Countrey, than to propagate posteritie, left behinde him many monuments of his zeale to Religion, and love to the Church; howsoever his primitive name is uncertaine and disputable. For the discordancy of Writers of those times, have left too many scrupulous questions about his descent and originall surname; I have therefore as neere (as God hath enabled me) endeavoured to cleere the point, and what with some search I have found hereof, to set downe the truth. And though to some it may here appeare impertinent, yet I presume it will not altogether prove unprofitable.

In the yeare of our Lord God 1324. *William* the sonne of *John Long*, was borne at *Wickham* in the Countie of *Southampton*; This *John* was Parish Clerke of *Wickham* aforesaid, in which place he taught Children to write, and amongst others his owne sonne, who profited so well, that he attained to the writing of a very faire hand; a qualitie in those dayes much respected, and by the better sort greatly desired.

From *Wickham* this *John* with his wife and family removed to *Titchfield*; & there as aforesaid, he continued the course aforesaid. And thither amongst others, did one *Nicholas Woodall*, then Constable of the Castle of *Winchester*, send a Sonne of his to be instructed; who upon his returne, making relation to his Father, of this *William* his skill of faire writing, was a meanes that this Constable of the Castle procured the said *William* of his Father, and kept him together with his own childe at Schoole in *Winchester*, where he learned his Latine & French tongues; in both which he profited exceedingly.

From *Winchester* at Master *Woodhalls* charge, he is sent to *Oxford*, where he applyed himselfe to the study of the Cannon lawes; but from thence before any degree in Schoole taken, he by his Patron was sent for, who being made Surveyor generall of his Majesties workes (a place in those dayes of more than ordinary regard) he is by him employed as his Clerke, and in short time grew so expert therein, that he farre surpassed all others, in orderly keeping the Account booke, and faire engrossing of the same. In somuch, that King *Edward* the Third, about that time much addicted to rearing magnificent structures: comming in Progresse, and lodging at the Castle at *Winchester*, heard a large commendation from the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam de Orleton*, of this *William Longs* sufficiency in surveying; who affirmed unto the King, that he had divers times by his Masters leave, employed the young man; and upon full prooffe, found him every way of sufficiency to doe his Majestie any requirable service. Whereupon the King told the Bishop, That if without doing wrong to his Master he might obtaine it, he was desirous to have this *William* to serve him; The Bishop thereupon perswadeth and prevaileth with Master *Woodhall*, to preferre this his servant to the King; who more tendring his Clerkes preferment, than his owne ease or service, (a course not over frequent in this Age) accordingly tendreth him; whom the King graciously entertaineth, and presently imployeth him in contriving and overlooking his Fortifications at *Dover* and *Quinborough* Castles, and afterwards made him Surveyor of his buildings at *Windsor* Castle, and his Houses of *Henley*, and *East-Hamstead*; in all which his employments, he so dexteriously behaved himselfe, that he not onely got the generall good will

Ann.  
1404.  
R. 42

The original of  
*William*  
of *Wickham*.



Ann.  
1404.  
R. 4.

Archiepis.  
Parker.  
fol. 257.

of his contemporary officers and workmen, but also the favour of the King, and his Councell, and all the Courtiers; of whom by discreet observation he had sufficiently learned to make use of the time to his best advantage. And having sufficiently seene proved by others experience, that service is no certaine heritage; and that only to depend on the Kings favour, and the peoples praise, was but a brittle and slippery course to run in; wisely therewithall observing, that spirituall promotions (the wind blowing as it did) was easily to be obtained, presuming the King would not be offended, if he should enter into Orders, when thereby preferment was every day promised; no doubt inwardly feeling himselfe to be sufficiently called, he entred into holy Function: and according to the custome of the Clergie men of those times, he was from thenceforth written, and called by the name of *William of Wickham*; and by that name was instituted first Parson of Saint *Martins* in the field; then made Master of Saint *Martins le grand*; afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Provost of *Wells*, and Rector of *Manyment* in *Devonshire*.

But within short time after, notwithstanding his watchfull care in his deportment, to give no occasion of offence (as neere as possible to any) much lesse to the King; yet he was falne into the jawes of Envie (a common plague to Court favorites) and by some or others traduced to the King, for over-ambitiously affecting vaine-glory, as arrogating the renowne of the Kings choice-peece of building, to be the work of *Wickham* onely; and for an instance thereof, they produce a sculpture in a stone of the wall in *Winchester* Tower in *Windsor* Castle; set up at that time, when he was employed in that work, which imported, *This made William of Wickham*: And this upon the first relation gave just cause of indignation to the King, as derogating much from his honour, to have a subject to attribute the building of the wall to his Soveraignes house, to be done at his charge. For which so saying, the King sharply reprehendeth *Wickham*; To whom *Wickham* modestly replieth, That it was far from his thought, to ascribe by that inscription, the Honour of building that Tower to himselfe, but his owne good hap, for being preferred to that work; for not by any indifferent construction, the words may seeme to import, that *Wickham* built that Tower; but his employment thereabouts, was the cause of making and preferring of *Wickham*; for thereby he had gained his Majesties gracious favour and countenance.

By this answer the King was pacified, and as it were to make *Wickham* amends, and deterre his calumniators from further persisting in such their envious courses, the Kings favour is daily increased towards him, and he is enriched with many faire preferments: Insomuch, that within few yeares, by the assistance and plotting of *John Buckingham*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, and Sir *Simon Burleigh*, Knight, two of his ancient and most intimate acquaintance in *Oxford*, he had gotten into his possession, besides the spirituall livings before remembred, twelve severall Prebendships; and by dispensation from Pope *Urban*, and qualification by being the Kings Chaplaine, he held at one time in his hands, so many Ecclesiasticall livings and promotions, as the value of them did amount, in the Kings books, to the summe of eight hundred seventy six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence; in those dayes a great summe. Such was his behaviour, that he held the Kings favour firme unto him, and the Nobilitie for the most part did well approve his courses: besides these Spirituall promotions, the King had likewise honoured him

In regist.  
Simonis,  
Larg.  
fol. 12.

him with many temporall places of both profit and respect, as being his principall Secretary, Keeper of the Privie Seale, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurour of the Kings Revenewes in *France*, and some other Offices of lesse eminency. Now whilst his wealth and worship every day increased, in *Anno* 1356. *William Edendou*, Bishop of *Winchester* departed this life, leaving the Sea void; whereupon (the King desiring the same) the Monkes of *Saint Swithins* in *Winchester* elected *William of Wickham* to that Sea: But *Urban* the then Pope, being sufficiently informed of the Elects little learning, but great livelyhood, deferr'd by the space of a whole yeare, the confirmation of the Election; in which time, *Wickhams* good Angels interceding for him in the Court of *Rome*, he is permitted to take the benefit of the spiritualties, and to have the temporalities in the meane time sequestred. The King hearing how much the insufficiency of schollership was obtruded upon *Wickham*, began to expostulate with him to surcease further suit for the place, which required to be supplied by a man of more sufficiency in Clerkship, than he was reckon'd of to be; to whom *Wickham* replied, that so please his Majestie to continue his gracious favour towards him, so that he might obtaine his desire therein, he doubred not, but by Gods speciall assistance, so to behave himselfe, that he would supply all defects of schollership in himselfe, by providing for others meanes and maintenance, to make and keep able persons for the service of the State, and the good of the Kingdome; wherewith the King was so taken, that he wrought so effectually, that in the yeare 1367. he was consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and was restored to all profits of that Bishopricke during the vacancy.

Within short time after he was made Lord Treasurer, and was employed and trusted with all the affaires of the Kingdome, and had the disposition of all the Kings Treasure, which was the occasion to advantage his enemies to strike the more easily at him. For the King by the new Bishops care, being rid of many troubles, yet tooke a further benefit thereby; for whatsoever was done that displeased the Councell, or the Commons, that was objected to the Bishop, whereby when the Kings wants were pressing, it was held the best policie at that time, to give the King a supply, by squeezing the full moistned sponge of the Bishops coffers. And to yeeld some colour for rheir so doing; The Bishop is charged to give account for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds received, during the time of his being Treasurer; besides a hundred thousand Francks, delivered him by *Galeaze Duke of Millaine*, which must be suddenly performed; and the more to puzzle him at that very instant, divers untrue and feigned cavillations, by way of complaint, are put up against him at the Councell boord; to the answering whereof he is instantly convented, where whilst he is intentive to save the bye, he hazarded the losse of the maine; for whilst he indevoureth to give satisfactory answers to the foresaid calumniations; Judgement is, through the earnest importunitie of the Duke of *Lancaster*, by *William Skipwith*, Lord chiefe Justice, upon an information of deceit suggested, awarded in the Kings Bench against him; by meanes whereof, all his temporalities were seized upon, taken into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*.

And for a further addition to his affliction, by *Iohn of Gaunts* meanes, he is in the Kings name commanded upon paine of his Majesties high displeasure, not to come within twenty miles of the Court. The Bishop with a cleere conscience, and a constant resolution, awaits a fitter time to crave review of this sentence against him; and like a discreet Pilat, playeth with the

*Ann.*  
1404.  
R. 4.

*Fox, Mart.*  
fo. 1100.

*Godwyn.*  
fol. 184.

An.  
1404.  
R. 4.

Continua-  
tor histo-  
Ramulphi.  
Parker Ar.  
fo. 257.

Antiquita-  
tes Brit.  
fo. 257.

wave, which if he should meet, might indanger him, and by giving way thereto, escapeth the hazard. Accessse to the King he knew not how to obtaine; to pacifie the Duke of *Lancaster*, he saw no possibillity; and how to procure any course to be taken for his benefite, he was altogether ignorant. His traine therefore he dismisseth, excepting some few, of whose honest fidelity, and otherwayes sufficiency he had made sufficient prooffe; these he imployeth to write out and ballast his accounts, and such answers as he had made to the accusations and informations, which as aforesaid were exhibited against him; which perfected, the Copyes thereof he privately disperseth amongst his brethren of the Clergie, and such other as he presumed would without prejudice to his cause, vouchsafe the reading of them. And therein amongst other things, he at large setteth forth the ground, or occasion of the Duke of *Lancasters* irreconcilable malice against him, which was thus: Queene *Philip*, wife to *Edward* the third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, delivered unto *Winchester*, That *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawfull issue of King *Edward*, but a suppositious sonne; For when shee was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a maiden childe, knowing how much the King desired to have a male issue, shee consulted with one of her maides of honour, by whose industry the Daughter was exchanged with a Dutch woman for a boy, whereof shee had been delivered about the same houre with the Queenes. Thus much shee confessed, and withall conjured the Bishop, that if the said *John* of *Gaunt*, should at any time directly or indirectly attempt or affect the wearing of the Crowne; or that rightfully for want of issue it should devolve unto him, That the Bishop should discover the same, and make it knowne to the King and the Councell: afterwards the Queene being dead, and *John* of *Gaunt* during the weaknesse of the King, did take upon him so much, that he gave just cause of suspition to the lookers on, of his ambitious affecting the Crowne. The Bishop first in silent and secret manner, by way of ghostly counsell, dissuaded the Duke from nursing the least hope of ever attaining the Crowne; and withall, used his best perswasions to him to content himselfe privately to live without further intermeddling than needs must, with the affaires of the Kingdome; And then he would keepe unrevealed, what otherwise by tie of dutie to his profession, he must and would discover, which would redound much to the Dukes disparagement. This so nettled the Duke, that passion confounded reason; and in the height thereof he waded as farr as he durst, for feare of undergoing the censure of the Church, for reviling one of the Fathers thereof: Neverthelesse, he did not so temper his words, but that he gave just occasion to the Bishop to provide for his safetie, and to looke to himselfe; hereof he gave intimation to the rest of the Bishops.

And so it chanced, that within short time after, a Parliament is convoked, wherein the Kings necessitie of present supply of money is much prest. But the Clergie unanimously affirme, that without their Brother the Bishop of *Winchesters* presence, they neither can, nor will consult of any thing; and therefore crave that he might be permitted to come. The King being told that he being a principall member of the house of Parliament, could not with conveniency be excluded. Whereupon he is sent for.

The Bishop upon notice of the Kings pleasure repaireth to *London*, but in that obscure manner, and with that small retinue, that he ministred occasion of commiseration to the beholders: which so incensed the Duke of *Lancaster*, that he not onely continued his indignation against the Bishop of *Winchester*,



chester, but openly did oppose all the Bishops in generall, protecting and countenancing *Wickliffe*, a man of more zeale than discretion, in all his over-bold and undutifull carriages towards them. In the meane time, *Winchester* having sufficiently learned, that the King now in his declining time, did so dote upon *Alice Pierce*, that in a manner he was altogether governed by her, complies himselfe wholly to her, and so effectually *aut prece aut pretio*, or both, made his way with her, that mauger all what the Duke could say, or doe to the contrary; after two yeares being kept out of his livings by her meanes, the Bishop is restored fully to whatsover had beene taken, or was detained from him.

The Parliament dissolved, the Bishop commeth to *Winchester*, where as well by the Citizens, as Prior and Covent, he is joyfully with kinde welcome, and generall procession received and entertained. Then and there also he receiveth of the Executors of his Predecessor, Bishop *Edington*, satisfaction for the summe of one thousand one hundred sixty two pounds ten shillings; and for the value of one thousand five hundred fiftie six Rother beasts; three thousand eight hundred seventy six Weather-sheepe, foure thousand seven hundred and seventene Ewes, three thousand five hundred twentie one Lambes, and one thousand one hundred twentie seven Swine, formerly recovered against them for dilapidations, before the Officiall of *William Witesley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

King *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* being banished the Court, *John of Gaunt* confident now to work his malicious designes against *Winchester*, taking the advantage of his Nephew King *Richards* infancy, musters afresh his old forces, and with small addition of some new furnished cavillations, reinformes and againe accuseth the Bishop of *Winchester*: But the Dukes malice was not more discernable, but the Bishops innocency was every way as perspicuous; By meanes whereof he escaped all the *Gauntish* machinations, and by the helpe of his truest friend (his open but full purse) he obtained a generall Pardon under the great Seale of *England*, and together with that, from thenceforth a quiet and unperturbed estate; during which time, he made preparations to forward his preintended goodly buildings, providing himselfe of all needfull materials, and furnishing himselfe with some of them, and all his chiefe workmen, for stone-work out of *France*; having made tryall of his Artificers skill in their own Countrey, where at *Roven* he built a stately Conventuall Church, and furnished the same with all needfull and befitting ornaments and maintenance.

And now having in readinesse all requirable utensils, his first work was the building of a Chappell at *Tytchfeild*, where his Father, Mother, and Sister *Perrot* were buried, endowing the same with proportionable maintenance for a Priest, to performe the Ceremonies in those dayes used for the benefit of the soules departed.

He founded at *Southwick* in the Countie of *Southampton*, neere the Towne of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with sufficient aliment, and all other necessities for five Priests for ever.

He bestowed twentie thousand Markes, in orderly repairing the houses belonging to the Bishoprick.

He discharged out of prison, in all places of his Diocesse, all such poore prisoners as lay in execution for debt under twenty pounds, about which he expended two thousand pounds.

An.  
1404.  
R. 4.

ubi supra.

Stow 562.

Ann.  
1404.  
R.4.

He sufficiently amended all the high wayes from *Winchester* to *London*, on both sides the River.

He procured large immunities to the See of *Winchester*, and purchased lands thereto, to the value of two hundred Markes *per annum*, with a Licence in Mortmaine for two hundred pounds *per annum* more.

In the eleventh yeare of the Reigne of *Richard* the Second, he receiveth from the Kings own hands the great Seale of *England*, and is made Lord Chancellor, whereby it appeareth that King *Richard* was not altogether void of judgement in the choice of his Officers of eminency, as the Writers of his time would seeme to make him.

At his returne from Court, he called all his Officers to account, amongst whom he remitted the summe of foure thousand pounds, in which they were arere, and gave to every one of them respectively, a generall release of all demands untill that time.

He likewise remitted unto the tenants of the Bishoprick, all such customary payments of knowledge money, as were by his Officers affirmed to be due unto him; in the whole, amounting to the summe of five hundred and twentie pounds.

But now, as if whatsoever was done before, had been but an essay of what he intended to doe after, he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent structure in *Oxford*, at that and till this time called new Colledge. And upon the fift day of March *Anno Dom.* 1379. he in person laid the first stone thereof. And afterward having finished and sufficiently furnished the same with all besitting accommodations, and endowed with proportionable meanes, for the liberall maintenance of a Warden, Threescore and ten Students, twelve Chaplaines, three Clarkes, sixteene Choristers, one Organist, and all other Officers requirable, either in Church or Colledge.

*Isa. Wake,*  
*fo. 9c.*

He dedicated the same to the honour of God, in the memory of the Virgin *Mary*. And upon the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord God 1386. at three of the clock in the morning, he gave the possession thereof to them whom he had made choice of to be the Warden and Fellowes therein. *Leland* and *Fox* in his Martyrologie affirme, that in this place before it, there stood *Nativus* Colledge, built by *Aluredus* at *Nativus* in-treaty, and that for the affinitie of the name, it came to be called New Colledge.

The next yeare following, that is to say, the 26. day of March 1387. he likewise in person laid the first stone of the like foundation, neere the Bishop of *Winchesters* Pallace in the Soake by *Winchester*, called *Woolvesey*, to be in manner of a Nursery or Seminary of Grammarians, to be fitted and made ready for his Colledge in *Oxford*. And in the like space of six yeares finished the same, and Dedicated the same as that other in *Oxford*, and as afore at three of the clock upon the 28. of March 1393. he gave seizen thereof unto the, by him then chosen Warden, Fellowes, and Schollers, *John Morrice* Clerke being the first Warden, *John Milton* the first Schoole-master.

His provident care likewise was such, that he not onely finished these two so renowned Colledges, and every way for the present furnished the same with all needfull and necessary accommodations for the maintenance of them in a most liberall proportion: But devised and appointed such, and so many directory rules and statutes for the well ordering and good government of the

the same: That it ministred just occasion to a most reverend Archbishop to write, and give this true testimony of him and them.

An.  
1404.  
R. 4.

*Quæ Collegia constructa & absoluta, tam præclaris legibus statutisque fundavit, terrisque ac possessionibus ita locupletavit, ut cæteris literarum Collegia postea statuentibus tanquam exemplar, atque speciem quod imitarentur proposuisse videatur. Ita quod à præcipuis Collegiorum Oxonia, Cantabrigiæque Patronis postea observatum est, ut in his quæ fundaverunt Collegiis Wickham, jura & statuta paucissimis verbis mutatis verbatim describerent. Quæ res, prudentiam ejus singularem, hisque quæ in R. P. gessit muneribus dignum indicavit quod ad bonarum literarum incrementum in quibus ne mediocriter eruditus existimabatur, tam accommodata & apposita statuta excogitaverit, &c.*

Over and above the immense charges of those his two so stately and unparaleld foundation of Colledges; the one for Prophets, the other for Prophets children, observing by his excellent knowledge in Architecture, that the small Marble pillars that stood in the body of Saint *Swithins* Church, were of the weakest to support the rooſe thereof, he began where Bishop *Edington* ended, which was at the West end of the Tower, where the bells hang, and from thence to the West end of the Church all along to inclose the Marble pillars with square hard stone, and raised the rooſe higher, and beautified the same; adding to the North and South-side thereof, two faire spacious Iles, covering all that part with Lead; and made a most beautifull Window at the West end, where in coloured glasse was deſportrayed the line from *Iesse* to *Ioseph*, the Husband of the Virgin *Mary*; and further, ornately glazed both those Iles with the portraytures of all the preceding Bishops of *Wincheſter*; and stories out of the old Testament in like glasse.

About the later end of his dayes, the then Pope having sent over his *Proxies*, to perswade the English to joine with other Christian Princes, and undertake the *Crusado*. This Bishop (through age and sicknesse, unable and unfit to attempt a journey of that nature) would not neverthelesse be thought backward in the service, but made his purse supply the defect of his person; and to encourage others of more agile bodies to the businesse, he delivered a great masse of money, to be respectively distributed amongst such as would undertake the service, and wanted wherewith to furnish themselves accordingly for the journey.

And then some few yeares before his death, he appointed in the lower end of the South Ile of the body of the Church of Saint *Swithins*, beautified by him as aforesaid, a decent, and well-befitting Monument for himselfe, wherein afterward he was buried. At that time also, at the end of the North Ile, there he made a commodious place for keeping the Consistory Court.

At length, knowing the uncertainty of the day, but the certaintie of his departure out of this life, he made his last Will and Testament; Whereby it appeared, that notwithstanding all those infinite occasions of exhausting his Treasure, he thereby expresseſed to bequeath respective Legacies, to the full value of six thousand two hundred seventy two pounds; for the orderly payment whereof he had provided before-hand in ready cash in his Coffers, so much coine, besides plate, jewells, bookes, vestments, and all manner of urenſils of household, and an almost incredible stock and store of corne and cattell.

In the  
Colledge  
Library.

Amongst



Ann.  
1404.  
R.4.

Amongst other of his Legacies he bequeathed *Alicia Perrot consanguinea sua, centum libras. Quæ an eadem fuerit, quam Aliciam Perres, quidam Historiographi nuncupant, cujus gratia regi reconciliatus fuerat, incertum est*, faith the Author, *Britannicarum antiquit. fol. 258.* But the contrary thereof appeareth, in that it is manifest, that *William Perrot*, who had married Bishop *Wickhams* sister, had a daughter then living, whose name was *Alicia Perrot*.

He likewise left unto *Thomas Perrot*, whom he adopted to be his heire by the name of *Thomas Wickham*, one hundred pounds land *per annum*, to him and his heires for ever : Together with all the furniture of house and household-stuffe, at the time of his decease, that should be in that house wherein he should happen to depart this mortall life, which was at *South-walham*, now called *Waltham Episc.* in the Countie of Southampton.

This *Thomas Perrot alias Wickham*, was the youngest sonne of *William Perrot*, that married *Agnes* the daughter of *John Long* and *Sibill* his wife : for by her he had three sonnes, *Nicholas Perrot*, who entred into Orders, and lived at *Rome* or *Roven* beyond the Seas, *John*, and this *Thomas*, who was afterward Knighted by the name of Sir *Thomas Wickham*, and married the heire of *William Wilkes*, unde, non constat, and a Daughter called *Alice*, by some supposed to be Abbatesse of *Romsey* ; but untruly, for her name that was Abbatesse, was *Felitia*, daughter of *Ralph Long*, whether Brother or Uncle to Bishop *Wickham*, is not for ought I can learne determined.

Before I goe further, give me leave *pro posse*, to remove an objection, that may *prima facie*, seeme to crosse the credit, of what hath been affirmed about his repaying Saint *Swithins* Church, whenas it appeareth by the expresse words of his Will, that he left the doing thereof to his Executors. But so please those, that shall seeme to move that question, to observe the time of the date of his Testament, and the date of the Codicill to the same annexed, by which it is appointed by him, that whatsoever he in his life-time shall undertake, that therewith his Executors shall not be chargeable, though by the Will he hath given them order to doe it, so that notwithstanding by his Will he appointed his Executors to repaire the Church, and erect his Tombe, yet he lived to doe both himselfe.

And now after all these so memorable actions, faith Bishop *Godwine* in his lives of Bishops, fol. 187. he having run the course of a long, happy, and most honourable life, he ended the dayes of his Pilgrimage in peace, in the yeare 1404. aged above 80. yeares, when he had late Bishop of *Winchester* 37 yeares.

I have heard it reported, that this pious Bishop did bestow upon the King, many rich jewels of inestimable price : And to every Officer of household attending upon the King, to every one of them one jewell or other.

And that he likewise distributed to every Parish Church within his Diocese, and of *Salisbury*, amounting in the whole to the number of six hundred fifty and foure Churches, a decent Sattin Cope imbrodered, with a Challice and pix of silver ; whereon was engraven, *Ex dono willi. de Wickham* ; but upon what ground to build the truth of this relation, certainly I know not more than this, That in *Salisbury* I saw in the house of *Thomas Grafton*, one of the Aldermen thereof, an old Challice, whereon was engraven, *Ex dono Guil: de Wickham*.

And it appeares in *Homes* prosecution of *Stomes* Abstract, fo. 561.

That Bishop *Wickham* gave many things to the King, to his Courtiers, to every Church in his Diocese, to his own servants, and to his Colledges :  
And

And therefore doubts not, but that he that thus lived, now liveth with God; whom he beseecheth to raise up many more such good Benefactors in this Kingdome, to whose good wish with all my heart, I say, So be it. Amen.

The French afresh cast anchor before the *Isle of Wight*, and sent messengers on shore to demand the delivery of the Isle to their possession, but upon the stout answer of the Ilanders, and notice of their preparation and resolution to fight, the French wayde Anchor and departed.

Presently upon this, Monsieur *Lewis*, the proud Duke of *Orleance*, Brother to the French King, in a vaine-glorious stile, sent a Challenge to King *Henry*, requiring him with an hundred men of name, and Cotearmour, armed at all points, with Speares, Axes, Swords, and Ponyards, to fight the Combat to yeelding, every Victor to have his Prisoner, and his rancome at pleasure, offering to come to *Angulesme*, if the King would come to *Bourdeaux* to defend the Challenge. The King with great moderation, made him this discreet answer; That his former actions in martiall exploits (he presumed) had sufficiently acquitted him from any the least touch of cowardise; And withall, that Kings, sacred and annoynted, as he was, ought not to be so carelesse of the people committed to their charge, for any cause to fight, except for furtherance or maintenance of true Religion, or for preservation of their rights, or defence of their Kingdoms from depredations, or to revenge injuries obtruded, or other such like important causes; neither was he by the law of Honour or Armes, bound to answer in Camp-fight, except upon good ground, and with his equall in dignitie and office; But added withall, that he would be at times prepared to repulse, or repress any that unadvisedly or otherwise should attempt, to offer him or his, either violence or disgrace. To this the Duke replies, and the King rejoynes, but not without some unfitting taunts and jeeres, which so nettled the over-passionate Duke, that with all expedition he fals upon *Vergie*, a Towne in *Guian*, which for the space of three moneths, notwithstanding many desperate assaults, was bravely defended by Sir *Robert Antfield*, and three hundred Englishmen; insomuch, that the Duke after the losse of many men, despayring to carry it, without honour or spoyle returned into *France*. Presently upon that, the Admirall of *Britaine* (who the year before had taken from the English certaine shippes laden with wine) accompanied with the Lord *du Castile*, and some thirtie sayle of shippes, attempted to land at *Dartmouth*, but were repelled; in which service the Lord *Castile* and two of his brethren, and foure hundred of his men were slaine, and two hundred taken prisoners; amongst whom the Lord *Baqueville*, Marshall of *Britaine*, was one.

Five hundred men of armes, five hundred Crosse-bowes, and one thousand *Flemmings* on foot, under the conduct of the Earle of *Saint Paul*, layd siege to the Castle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*. Sir *Philip Hall* the Captaine thereof, with fourscore Archers, and foure and twenty other Souldiers, valiantly defended the same, and put off the first assault; the next day the French entred the base Court, where they took some kyne, horses, and other cattell. But they having notice that Sir *Richard Aston*, Lieutenant of the English pale, under the Earle of *Somerset*, with two hundred men of armes, three hundred footmen, and ten Waggones of ammunition approached, kept close in their trenches; from whence (being beaten upon by the Bow-men on both sides) they were forced and fled. The Earle of *Saint Paul* escaped to *Saint Omers*; but left threescore (most men of quality) dead behind, and fourescore

An.  
1404.  
R. 5.

The  
French  
Kings  
brothers  
challenge.

The  
French at-  
tempt  
*Dartmouth*,  
and are  
repulsed.

Ann.  
1404.  
R. 5.

The Kings  
third Son  
with some  
forces  
land at  
*Sluice*.

Three  
Carracks  
of *Genoa*  
taken.

*Northum-  
berland*  
and others  
with him  
rebell.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
*Yorke* per-  
swades the  
people to  
rise against  
the King.

four score Prisoners, besides his Camp to be rifled by the Souldiers, with the spoile whereof they retreated to *Callice*: And within five dayes after their returne thither, they issued forth, in hope to have surpris'd *Arde*, but by the valour of Sir *Manfrid de Boyes* the Captaine, they retired with the losse of forty of their fellowes, whose carkasses they burned in an old house, that the French should not certainly know their losse.

The Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, the Kings third Sonne, and the Earle of *Kent*, the two and twentieth day of May, with competent forces entred the Haven of *Sluice*, burnt foure great Ships riding at anchor, and in expectation to have met the Duke of *Burgoigne*, they landed, but without resistance, having spoiled the Country round about, they returned to the reliefe of *Callice*, which by the French was besieged; in the way they were encountered by three Carracks of *Genoa*, one of which, with winde, tide, and full saile, bare so hard upon the Ship wherein the Lord *Lancaster* was, that had not his Pilat been the perfecter, he had been in danger to have been overborne, for his vessell was much bruised; the fight was doubtfull, untill the Earle of *Kent* bare with them, and then they took the three Carracks richly laden, and brought them to the Chambet at *Rye*, where, one of them by misfortune was fired, and, to the gaine of neither side, perished.

The coles of the Northern rebellion was not so cleane extinguished, but that by removing of the ashes under which they were hid, the sparks thereof were afresh discovered. For envie, which alwayes lyeth beneath, staring upward, had so infected their eyes, that they could not endure to look upon King *Henryes* so great prosperitie, so that by the watring thereof, the forenesse was discovered; amongst whom *Henry Piercy*, Earle of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroope*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle Marshall, the Lords *Hastings*, *Fawconbridge*, *Bardolfe*, and divers others conspired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorkefould Downs*, with all the forces they could raise; and that under the leading of old *Northumberland*, they should bid defiance to King *Henry*. The Earle Marshall invented, and the Archbishop contrived divers Articles of grievances, both generall and particular, wherewith they spared not to calumniate the King; these first they covertly shewed amongst themselves, but afterwards sent Copies of them to their friends further off, with these protestations, that to vindicate such injuries, and to redresse such oppressions, they would, if need were, not spare the last drop of their best blood. Then these Articles are set up in the publike streets, and upon the gates and entrances into Churches and Monasteries, that thereby all men might be thoroughly informed, what they would endeavour to reforme, and what they were thus resolved, by force of armes, to undertake; hope of reformation of some, and desire of innovation of others, drew on multitudes of all sides, to be partakers of this enterprise; to whom the Archbishop, clad in habiliments of warre, presents himselfe, and first giving them his benediction and plenary indulgence to all such as should dye in the exploit, he exhorted some, and encouraged others to undertake and proceed with him in this enterprise: The gravitie of his countenance, the perswasion of his integritie of life, and the opinion of his deep learning, were motives sufficient to induce many to accompany him, and all men to reverence him. His fervor erected his zeale, but discretion did not direct his fervor; for he too suddenly discovered their projects; so that the King about to make an expedition into *Wales*, upon notice of these passages, turned his march Northwards.



Ralph Nevill, Earle of *Westmerland*, with Lord *John* the Kings second Son, having had intelligence of this insurrection, assembled what forces they conveniently could, and with the ayd of the Lords, *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Eevers*, and *Robert Vmbrevile*, they made head against the Rebels, and comming into a plaine in the Forrest of *Galtree*, they sate downe right against the Archbishop and his retinue, who were twenty thousand strong; *Westmerland* perceiving the enemies forces to exceed theirs, endeavoured to sowe the Foxes taile to the Lyons skin, and by a politick devise to circumvent the Archbishop; to this end he sent a messenger unto him, demanding the cause why he a Churchman, and a grave Prelate, should draw so great a confluence of people together, and in that manner in armes to fright the Kings subjects, and disquiet his peaceable government. The Archbishop returned answer, That he neither had or would doe any thing, that should tend to the breach of the Kings peace, but that he alwayes had, and ever would pray for the continuance of the same without violation; and that the cause of his being armed, was for his own defence, whom the King had without just cause threatned, by the instigations of such sycophants, as in too too great multitude swarmed daily about him, whereby his accessse unto him without such forces could not be obtained; and herewith he sends unto *Westmerland* a scrowle of the Articles, desiring his patience to reade them: which upon the messengers returne, when *Westmerland* had read, he made shew of approving the Archbishops pious purpose, promising with his assistance to prosecute the same, and desired some conference privately to be had betweene them; in the meane time, acquainting Lord *John* the Kings Sonne with his intention. The credulous Archbishop, though a great Clerk, none of the wisest men, was so forward to beleieve what was proposed, that he perswaded the Earle Marshall, though most unwilling to doe so, to goe with him to the place appointed to conferre, where with equall company they met. The Articles are read, and allowed of, and reformation resolved on all hands to be endeavoured. Whereupon *Westmerland* seemed to commiserate the souldiers, being in armour all day, and weary, wisht the Archbishop to acquaint his partie, as he would his, with the mutuall agreement, and so shaking hands, in most courtly friendship dranke unto him: Whereupon the souldiers were willed to disarm, and to repaire to their lodgings, which they willingly obeyed; but were no sooner gone, when a troope of horse, which in colourable manner seeming to depart, wheeled about, but afterwards returned, and being now in sight, the Earle of *Westmerland* arrested both the Archbishop and Earle Marshall, and brought them both prisoners to *Pomfret* to the King; who was advanced so farre with his power, and from thence marched to *Yorke*, whither the Prisoners likewise were brought, and the next day both the Archbishop and the Earle Marshall, who dyed a bachelor, were beheaded. The Archbishop tooke his death with that patience and constancy, that the common people did not feare to affirme he dyed a martyr.

From *Yorke* after the Citizens had beene put to their fines and ransomes, the King departed thence thirty seven thousand strong, every way well appointed and furnished, and marched towards the Earle of *Northumberland*. At *Durham* the Lords, *Hastings* and *Fauconbridge*, with two other Knights, (being convict of the Conspiracy) were executed. *Northumberland* hearing his plots discovered, with three hundred horse sped him to *Berwicke*, from whence after he heard that the King followed him, and had taken the

Castle

An.  
1404.  
R. 5.

*Westmerland* circumvents the Archbishop of *Yorke*.

He is beheaded at *Yorke*.

An.  
1404.  
R. 5.

Northum-  
berland his  
partakers  
proclaim-  
ed tray-  
tours.

Ann. 1408.  
The Prince  
of Scotland  
taken pri-  
soner, and  
sent to the  
Tower.  
1408.

Castle of *Wareworth*, he with the Lord *Bardolfe* fled into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David Lord Fleming*. The King gave summons to the Castle of *Barwicke*, which they refused to obey; he planted a great peece, which being discharged against one of the towers of the battlement, so shook the same, that presently they within yeelded without composition. Whereupon *William Greystocke*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkinsope*, Knights, and five others, were put to present execution, and many other put into severall prisons. In his returne he tooke in all such Castles and peeces of strength, as had been belonging to the Earle of *Northumberland*, or any other his partakers, who were all proclaimed Traytors.

*James*, Sonne and heire of *Robert King of Scotland*, attended on by the Earle of *Orckney*, and a mitred Prelate, sayling towards *France*, (whither the Prince, being an Infant of nine yeares old, was sent by his Father for to be instructed in safetie,) was taken by certaine Mariners of *Norfolke*, and presented to the King at *Windsor*, the thirtieth of March 1408. from whence the Prince and Earle were sent for safe keeping to the Tower of *London*, but the Bishop escaped.

*Roger de Walden*, the tennis ball of Fortune, who had lived to turne the wheele of chance about its circle, dyed this yeare: who from a meane descent, and but a poore scholler in the now but new founded Colledge of *Saint Maryes* in *Oxford*, at length came to be Chaplaine there, and stepping on by degrees, attained to the Deanry of *Rorke*, and finding the ginge of the Court, made such use thereof, that he thereby got to be Lord Treasurer of *England*. And after that *Richard* the second had banished *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Realme, who in Parliament before but *minus just*, was attaint of Treason, *Walden* was Consecrate and enthronized Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and so for the space of two yeares continued, but after a depofall of King *Richard*, *Arundel* by King *Henry* was restored: and by Pope *Boniface*, *Roger* was pronounced an intruder, who now being Archbishop, but without a Bishoprick; as afflictions seldome come uncoupled; he was called to account for the Treasurer-ship, and though he produced his *quietus est*, yet were all his temporalties seized, and he imprisoned, yet from thence being delivered by the charitable condition of the now Archbishop, he led a private life, but then was made Treasurer of *Callice*, and then with great hope of rising, he was promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The Duke of *Orleans* besieged the Townes of *Burgh* and *Bloy* in *Gascoigne* with a great power, but after eight weekes siege, and the losse of six thousand of his souldiers, he raised his siege and departed.

The Lord *Camoyes* being arraigned before the Earle of *Kent*, for that day Lord high Steward (upon supposition without ground, which some forgetfull persons had accused) to have plotted the Kings surprisall by Pirates upon the *Thames*, in a ship whereof he had the charge, was by his Peeres acquit, and restored to his goods, lands, offices, and the Kings favour.

*Northumberland* and *Bardolfe*, after they had beene in *VVales*, *France*, and *Flaunders*, to raise a power against King *Henry*, returned back to *Scotland*; where after they had continued a yeare, with a great power of Scots and strangers, they returned into *England*, recovered divers Castles formerly belonging to the Earle, to whom great multitudes of people resorted, where-with they came into *Yorkshire*, making great spoyle: by the way making proclamation, That they were come for the comfort of the English, and the reliefe

The Lord  
*Camoyes* ar-  
raigned  
for trea-  
son, is ac-  
quit by his  
Peeres.  
1403.

reliefe of the Common-wealth, therefore willed all that desired to retaine their liberty, to repaire unto them.

Sir Thomas Robesby, high Sheriffe of *Warke*, having leviéd the power of the Countrey, with that only upon *Brāmbam* Moore gave the Rebels battell; wherein *Northumberland* was slaine, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. This *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* had two wives; the first was *Margaret* daughter of *Ralph*, Lord *Nevill* of *Raby*, by whom he had issue *Henry Hotspur*, slaine as afore, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Ralph Alane*, that died young; his second wife was *Maud*, daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Lucy*, by whom he had no issue.

This yeere a Parliament began, in which the Commons preferred a Petition to the King and the Upper-house, therein expressing their desire, that the King might have the temporall possessions which the Bishops and Clergie consumed in unnecessary courses; the value thereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for one hundred and fiftie Earles, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Hospitals for maimed souldiers, besides them already erected. They craved likewise, that the Clerkes convicted should not be delivered to the Bishops prison, and that the Statute made in the second yeere of the King, against *Lollards*, might be repealed, which favoured of too much curiosity, and too little charity.

The King upon advised consideration justly distasting their distempered zeale, denied their Petitions, and in person commanded them, upon pain of his indignation, from thenceforth not to presume to trouble their brain about any such businesse. In this Parliament the King moved, in every yeere wherein there was no Parliament kept, to have allowed him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fiftenth of the Layty; the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not agree thereto.

Sir *Robert Vmsfreuile* the Vice-Admirall of *England*, with tenne men of warre entred the Ports in *Scotland*, lying there foureteene dayes together, landing every day on one side or other, taking great preys, and doing greater hurt: he burnt the great Gallie of *Scotland*, and many ships over against *Lieth*, and carried away with him foureteene tall ships, laden with Corn and other Staple commodities, which at his return he sent to the Markets round about, which brought downe the prices of all things, and purchased to him the name of Mend-market. He likewise made a road by land into *Scotland*, and burnt *Iedworth*, and most part of *Trivdale*.

The King created his sonne *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*; his brother *Thomas Beufort*, third sonne of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, bee created Earle of *Dorset*. Upon some distaste taken, not given against the young Prince, whose youthfull carriage was well-neere censured, by the graver sort, to be wilde and uncivill, the King removed him from the place of President of the Councell, and gave it to his third son, *Iohn*; and giving too much care to his severer Councillours against the said Prince, hee made (at leastwise was said to make) a misconstruction of all his actions, seasoning the same with jealousy, that he ambitiously affected the Crown, and that he would not stay the leisure of time to have it after the Kings death, but would use some stratagem (though with the losse of his Fathers life) to take present possession thereof.

To feed this suspicion, all the youthfull actions of the Prince are set on the tentors, and exemplified beyond the degree of wildenesse; his merriments are termed ryots, his company are stiled Swaggerers, his behaviour branded

An.  
1408.  
R. 9.

An.  
1410.  
R. 10.  
A Petition by the Commons against the Bishops. Meanes to maintaine Earles 150 Knights 1500. Esquires 6200. and an hundred Hospitals of new to be erected.

Sir Robert Vmsfreuile termed Mend-market.

An.  
1411.  
R. 11.  
The Prince of Wales removed from being President of the Councell.



Ann.  
1411.  
R. II.

From  
hence was  
the hono-  
rable or-  
nament of  
the collar  
of S. S.  
worne by  
these in-  
cminent  
places in  
remem-  
brance of  
this Prin-  
ces recon-  
cilement  
to his Fa-  
ther, devi-  
sed.  
The Prince  
presents  
himself to  
the King.

with dissolutenesse, and his words and gesture dangerous: whereupon a vigilant eye is carried over him, and a note taken of all his followers and fashions. The Prince all this while innocent, would not seeme (though hee had intelligence of thus much) to take notice of these passages, but continued his sporting, merriments, with his old companions, amongst whom (as in all ages some such have beene) there were those that would dare, and doe many forgetfull pranks, the blame whereof still was laid on the Prince his shoulders, whose greatnesse was able to countenance their great follies, which he many times (and not unwillingly) did undergoe. At length being informed that two things were necessary for a Christian to observe, Credit and Conscience; the one for his acquaintance sake, the other for his owne; and that he would be censured to be cruell to himselfe, if that hee neglected the opinion of others, as relying only on the assurance of his own Conscience; he resolved to give this satisfaction to the world, that such as had given his Father intimation of any sinister intention on his part, were in an error undeniable: he first by severall Letters of his own both inditing and writing, expostulated with such as he knew to be guilty of doing ill offices betwixt him and his Father, laying before them the unsufferable wrongs done unto him, that had devised to discredit him in those misreports. And lastly, upon the nine and twentieth day of June, with a traine of all his friends and servants, the number whereof was very great, in a garment of blew Sattin, wrought all with eyletholes of black silke, at every hole the needle hanging by which it was sowed, and about his arme a thing in fashion of an hounds collar, studded with S.S. of gold, and the tyrors of the same, he came to the Kings Court at *westminster*; where being entred into the Hall, according as he had formerly given direction, not one of his company advanced himselfe (though often by the Kings servants requested) above the fire place, he himselfe, attended by the Kings owne servants only, was brought into the presence: the King (though afflicted with sicknesse) caused himselfe in a chaire to be brought into the privie Chamber, where in presence of but three or foure of his Privie Councell, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his so unwonted habit and comming; to whom the Prince with a most humble and filiall reverence upon his knees said, Dread Sovereigne and deare Father, thus prostrate upon my knees, as a loyall subject and dutifull sonne, with all besitting humiliation and requirable reverence, I render my selfe in all things liable to your command.

Having of late received information, by the relation of some secret about your Majesty, that my forgetfull carriage hath given unto your Grace cause of suspicion, that my heart should not be right, nor my affections toward your Highnesse so placed, as duty and obedience on my part do require and expect; and being assured, that if I knew any one within your kingdome of whom your Highnesse should justly have cause to stand in fear, that I hold my self bound by the Law of God and nature to punish that person, and, *quantum in me est*, to remove the cause of doubt from your heart; now much more then is that requirable by the lawes of filiall respect, and naturall proximitie of blood and duty, that I your sonne and servant, in my owne particular am tid to prevent the least suspicion of unthankfulnesse in me, and danger thereby to you, should, for the better securing your quiet, tender my life as a forfeit to your Highnesse, for giving cause of question of loyalty to you, that that being taken away, and the ground of your jealousie being removed, you might with more security enjoy the quiet of an undisturbed minde.

To this end, having this morning with a Christian preparation of humble Confession, and receiving the blessed Sacrament of the blood and passion of my Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, fitted my selfe to be made a sacrifice, to exterminate your jealousie, I have presumed to approach your seat of Majesty; and therefore I humbly beseech you to ease your heart, and hereby to take assurance of your future quiet, by giving a period to my griefe and your feare; and to give this Ponyard a passage thorow my heart (and therewithall reached his dagger, holding it by the point, to his father) for I desire not to live longer, than to be justly thought to be what I am, and shal ever be your faithfull and obedient vassall, which if you shall vouchsafe to doe here in the presence of your Nobility, I do clearly forgive the fact in this world, and before God and his holy Angels at the day of Judgement will acquit you thereof. These words had that penetrating property, and the King therewith was so moved, that casting the dagger away, he rose out of his chaire, but for weaknesse not able to stand, fell upon his sons neck, and with many teares embracing him, confessed that his eares had bene too open to receive reports against him, and promising by the love of a father, and the faith of a King, from thenceforth that misreport should not cause his disaffection; he assured him, that at the next Parliament those whisperers against him should undergoe the censure of their Peeres, and stand at his mercy for the scandals by them against him raised; to whom the Prince replied, God forgive them, I do; and so with generall content they departed.

And from that time forth, untill his departure out of this life, the King enjoyed a calme from all hostility, either at home or abroad; And to expresse his great thankfulness to God, for this his greater goodnesse to him, he took upon him the Crusado, & complaining of the inconsiderate courses of the Princes of Christendome, that were more intentive to waste and weary one another with intestine and civill broiles, rather than to joyne hand in hand to oppose themselves against the common euemy of their faith, the Turke; (whereto he was perswaded that in conscience they were bound) To animate them therefore by his example to doe the like, he made great preparations both of men, money and amunition, for that service, with intention the next Spring to set forward to recover *Ierusalem*. To this purpose he called a Councell in the *White-Friers*, where order was taken for the provisi- on of all things ready for the voyage by Sea to the Holy Land; & convoked a Parliament to begin on Candlemasse day following: And now all things being ready for the expedition against the Turks, the enemy of mankind seized upon him with an Apoplexie, the fits whereof divers times would shew him dead to those about him, yet ever upon his recovery againe of sense, he would demand for his Crowne, which he appointed all the time of his sicknesse to be placed on a cushion in his sight: At length the extremity of the disease increasing, he lay as though all his vitall spirits had forsaken him, insomuch that those that were about him deemed him dead, and covered his face. The Prince having notice thereof, came and tooke away the Crowne, and departed; the father reviving, demanded for the Crowne, and hearing that the Prince had taken it, he sends for him, and angerly demandeth his reason of his so doing; to whom the Prince with a confident brow made answer; That in his and all mens judgement there present he was dead, and then I being next heire apparent to the same, took it as my indubitate right, not as yours, but mine, well said the King, and sighed, Faire son, what right I had to it, God knoweth: But, saith the Prince, if you die King,

An.  
1411.  
R.11.

The King  
and Prince  
reconciled

The King  
having ta-  
ken upon  
him the  
Crusado,  
prepareth  
according-  
ly.

Ann.  
1412.  
R.13.

The death  
of Henry  
the fourth

Ann.  
1412.  
R.13.

I doubt not to hold the garland, as you have done, with my sword, against all opposers: Then saith the King, I referre all to God, but charge thee on thy blessing, and as thou wilt answer it before the Tribunall of God; That thou minister the lawes indifferently; that thou ease the oppressed; that thou avoid flatterers; that thou doe not deferre justice, nor be sparing of mercy, but punish the oppressours of thy people, & suffer not officers to make their places the stalking-horses to their will; so shalt thou obtaine favour of God, and love of thy subjects, who whilst they have wealth, so long shalt thou have obedience; but being made poore by oppression, will be ever ready to stirre and make insurrections: and so turning about, said, God blesse thee, and have mercy on mee; and so he gave up the ghost, in a chamber of the Abbot of *Westminster*, which the servants there called *Ierusalem*, the twentieth of March, 1412. in the fortie sixth yeare of his age, when he had reigned thirteen yeares, six moneths, lacking ten dayes: His body with all funerall pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

He had bene twice married, his first wife was *Mary*, daughter and coheire of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Effex*, and *Northampton*, and Constable of *England*, she died Anno 1394. and was buried at *Canterbury*; he had issue by her:

*Henry* his eldest sonne, who succeeded him.

*Thomas Plantagenet*, his second sonne, who was created Duke of *Clarence*, in the eleventh yeare of his fathers reigne, he was slaine at *Bongy-bridge* in *France*, by the Duke of *Orleanse*: this *Thomas* rooke to wife *Margaret* daughter of *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and widow of *John Beuford* Earle of *Pomfret*, who died without issue.

*John Plantagenet*, his third sonne, was made Duke of *Bedford*, the eleventh yeare of his Fathers reigne, and Earle of *Richmond*, and Lord of *Kendall*; he married to his first wife *Anne*, daughter of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who died without issue; his second wife was *Iaquellyne*, daughter of *Peter* Earle of *Saint Paul*, and by her had no issue; she was after married to *Richard Woodville* Earle *Rivers*, and had issue *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Edward* the fourth. This *John*, as Constable of *England*, determined the controversie betwixt *Reignold* Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen*, and *Sir Edward Hastings*, for the bearing of the Armes of *Hastings*; and at *Vernoyle*, together with the same Towne, tooke the Duke of *Alanson* prisoner; and with the losse of two thousand one hundred private souldiers, flew of the adverse part, five Earles, two Vicounts, one and twenty Barons, seven thousand French, and two thousand five hundred Scots; and died at *Paris*, the fourteenth of September, 1435. and was buried at *Roan*, under a sumptuous Monument; which when *Lewis* the eleventh King of *France*, being advised by some of his Nobles to deface, he said, What honour will it be to us or you; to demolish the Monument, and pull out thereof the bones of him, whom in his life-time, neither my Father nor your Progenitors were of ability to make budge one foot backward; wherefore let his body now rest in quiet, which if he were alive, would have disquieted the proudest of us all; such respect to well-got honour, he obtained in the minds of his enemies.

*Humphrey Plantagenet* fourth sonne, who was stiled, *Humphrey* by the grace of God, Sonne, Brother, and Uncle to Kings; he was Duke of *Glocester*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Earle of *Pembrooke*, Lord of *Freezeland*, great Chamberlaine of *England*, Protector of the Realme, and Defender of the Church of *England*: He had two wives, the first was

*Iaquet*,



*Iaquet*, daughter and heire of *William Duke of Bavaria*, who being before betrothed to *John Duke of Brabant*, was divorced from this *Humphry* before issue. His second wife was *Elianor*, daughter of *Reignold Lord Cobham of Sterburgh in Surrey*, who for sorcery and poysoning, was much defamed. He was found murdered in his bed at *Bury in Suffolke*, and was buried at *Saint Albanes in Hartford shire*.

An.  
1412.  
R. 13.

*Blanch*, King *Henry's* eldest daughter, was married, as afore, at *Colles*, to *William Duke of Bavaria*; after his death she was married to the King of *Arragon*, and afterwards to the Duke of *Barre*, but died without issue.

Two daughters.

*Philip*, second daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *John King of Denmark*, but died without issue.

King *Henry's* second wife was *Toane*, daughter of *Charles King of Navarre*, and widow of *John Mornford Duke of Britain*; she died at *Havering in the Bower in Essex*, without issue, the 10 of July, 1437. and was buried at *Canterbury*.

King *Henry* was of a middle stature, well proportioned, and formally compact; of a quick conceit and active spirit, of great resolution and courage. In his later dayes, with courtesie and affable cariage, he purchased a great deale more love and respect amongst the Nobility, than he had in all the beginning of his reigne with his austerity and rigorous courses, and redeemed from the common people a great portion of good opinion, which he by his impositions and taxes had formerly lost among them: But if their payments had beene more, and his exactions greater, in my opinion they were not undeserved, that were so ready to alter the due course of succession, to joyn hands with him in the deposing of the rightfull & naturall Liege-Lord, whose onely fault, that could be truly objected, was this, that he had beene too bountifull to his friends, too mercifull to his foes, but most unrespective of himselfe.

Ann.  
1413.  
R. I.



THE  
LIFE AND REIGNE  
OF KING HENRY  
THE FIFTH.



HENRY the fifth, firnamed (of the place of his birth, which was a towne in Wales, upon the River of Wye) Monmouth, tooke upon him the Regality over England, the 20 day of March, and the next day was proclaimed King; and the ninth day of Aprill he was crowned King at Westminster, by Thomas of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all usuall rites and Ceremonies.

King Henry  
ry taketh  
leave of  
his an-  
cient com-  
panions.

After the solemnitie past, the next day he caused all his wonted Companions to come into his presence, to whom he used these words; It is sufficient that for many yeares together I have fashioned my selfe to your unruly dispositions, and have (not without some reluctance in the very action) followed you in your deboshit and swaggering courses, I have to my sorrow and shame, I may say, to thinke of it, irregularly wandred in all rude and unseemly manner, in the vast wildernesse of riot and unthriftinesse, whereby I was made almost an alien to the hearts of my Father and Allies, and, in their opinions, violently carried away, by your means, from grace, by keeping you company; therein I have so vilipended my selfe, that in the eyes of men my presence was vulgar and stale; and like the Cuckow in June, heard, but not regarded. One of you being convented before the Lord chiefe Justice, for misusing a sober-minded Citizen, I went to the publick Sessions house, and strook him on the face, and being by him deservedly committed to the Fleet (for which act of justice I shall ever hold him worthy the place, and my favour, and wish all my Judges to have the like undaunted courage, to punish offenders, of what ranke soever) it occasioned my Father to put mee from my place in Counsell, appointing it to be supplied by my younger brother. How often have I, by your animation, committed thefts, even on my Fathers and my own Receivers, and robbed them of the money provided for publick appointments, to maintaine your mid-night revellings, and noon befallings; But it is time now to give a period to these exorbitant and unfitting courses, and to salve the wounds my intemperance hath made in my reputation, and to turne over a new lease; and not only to decline the company of such misleaders of youth, but desert their conditions; I straightly therefore charge and command you, and every one of you, that from henceforth, untill you have settled your selves in a more orderly course of life, and

and redeemed your pawn'd credits, with faire and regarded behaviour, hereafter upon paine of forfeiture of your heads, not to appeare in my presence, nor to come within the verge of my Court: For what is past I will grant you my pardon; and withall, because I know sometimes necessity will cripple honesty, I will allow each of you a competency of maintenance, as a stock to begin a course whereby to live orderly hereafter: But take heed of relapsing, for the least just complaint of ill behaviour of any of you hereafter, if proved, shall forfeit your pardons, and exclude my favour for ever: which resolution of mine I will never breake: and so without attending any reply, he departed. And afterwards, to shew others the way, he disposed himselfe to a new course of deportment, qualifying his carriage with such magnanimous & heroicall vertues, as might best become the person of so great a Potentate: and knowing that howsoever we ought to live by lawes, and not by examples, yet mans nature is presently carried away with imitation, he preferred to places of Judicature, and publick administration of Justice, such as were truly noble, wise, discreet, modest and temperate, well able to command others, and to rule themselves; out of which he selected a choice number of the ablest braines, to be of his Privie Councell. He industriously endeavoured to reforme the pride, covetousnesse, sloth, and other abuses crept among the Clergy, enjoying them to more regular life, and sincere serving of Almighty God; commanding the reformation of disorders, renovation of discipline, punishment of irregularity, and amendment of life: And with moderate severity caused such administrations of the lawes to be made, both spirituality and laity, tractable to the performance of their severall duties: Then to establish safety at home, that he might not be molested either with the Welsh or Scots, he erected divers Fortifications and Bulwarks upon their Frontiers, and furnished them both with necessaries, and able Commanders, so that he was still powerfully ready to suppress all insurrections or rebellions that might be attempted from thence.

Immediately after Easter he called a Parliament, but in the *interim*, most of the Nobility before his Coronation (an unusuall course, never before done) did strive to out-goe each other in forward, tender, and doing their homage, all most willingly swearing to him Allegiance, and doing fealty. On Trinity Sunday the Obsequies of his Father were solemnly performed, himselfe and most of the Nobility being at the at *Canterbury*, at the offering present.

Shortly after he caused the body of King *Richard* the second to be brought from *Langley* to *Westminster*, and there buried with great solemnity, by his first wife Queene *Anne*.

About this time the opinion of *Wickliffe* (notwithstanding the care taken to suppress it by the wisdom of the Parliament, and the courses appointed in their Convocation-house by the Clergy) began to be generally dispersed, infomuch that Sir *John Oldcastle*, in right of his wife, called in courtesie, Lord *Cobham*, a man of a bold and resolute disposition, and a stout souldier, was convented before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for broching and maintaining many novell positions, against the received tenet of the Church, the tenor of whose accusation, was by *Henry Chicheley*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presented unto the King; who in commiseration of the Knight, required the Prelates, that if he were a strayed sheepe, to reduce him to the fold, rather by gentle courses than severity: And himselfe afterwards sending

Ann.  
1413.  
R. 1.

The forwardnesse of the Nobility to tender their homage.

The Lord Oldcastle convented



An.  
1413.  
R.1.

ing for him, did earnestly exhort him to reconcile himselfe to God and the Church, and to submit himselfe to the constitutions thereof; but Sir *John*, first by word of mouth, then by writing, seemed to justify his assertions, affirming, that his Grace was supream head, and his competent Judge, and no other; and that he would come to his purgation with an hundred Knights and Esquires, or fight in defence of his just cause in open Lists.

Oldcastle  
escapeth  
out of the  
Tower.

But the King by his Counsell being enformed, That by the law, accusations touching questions of beleefe, ought to be tried by the spirituall jurisdiction, he sent him to the tower of *London*: And afterward upon the three and twentieth day of September, a Convocation was held in the Church of *S. Paul* in *London*, and upon the five and twentieth day following, another in the Hall of the *Black-fryers*, in which places the Lord *Cobham* was fully heard to vent a Spittle of diseased opinions, and thereupon was by the Archbishop convict of heresie, and denounced an Hereticke, and remanded back to the Tower, from whence he escaped and fled into *Wales*.

An.  
1414.  
R.2.

The King keeping his Court and Christmasse at *Elvetbam*, was advertised that divers had conspired against him, his brethren, and the Bishops; and that Sir *Roger Aston*, Knight, *John Browne*, Esquire, and *John Beverley*, Clerke, were with a great company in armes, on the backside of *Saint Giles*, assembled for that purpose. Whereupon the King secretly posted to *London*, and drawing some Companies of souldiers together, he layed an ambush, neare the place, where the Conspirators, about twelve of the clocke at night, were appointed to make their rendezvous, where accordingly many of them were taken, and some slain. The Maior of *London* likewise according to directions, gave order to every Alderman in his severall Ward, to apprehend all suspicious persons; himselfe about ten of the clock at night in person, took at *Bishopsgate*, at the signe of the axe there, one *John Burgate*, a Carpenter, and seven other, whom he sent to the King, before whom they confessed, that they were of the Confederacie with Sir *John Oldcastle*, to have fought with the King in *Saint Giles* field. The Captaine liewife of the commotion being taken, confessed the treason, and appeached many of their Complices. The gates of *London* were warcht and guarded, so that none had passage without the word; by which meanes all their partakers there were kept from comming forth: divers being met upon the wayes, comming from sundry parts of the Realm, upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captaine, the Lord *Cobham*; but he could not be heard of, though the King by Proclamation offered a thousand Marks to him that could bring him; besides large priviledges to the Towne where he should be attached. Amongst other, there was one *William Morley* of *Dunstable* taken, who discovered what was the chiefe motive of that Commotion, which was pride and ambition of preferment; for he being but a Maltster, had two horses trapped with gilt harness led after him, and a paire of gilt spurs in his bosome, an ornament for none in those dayes, under the degree of a Knight, to weare; for he it seemes was promised, and assured himselfe of Knighthood at the least. The Ring-leaders were attaint of heresie by the Clergie, and of high Treason by the Layty; whereupon they were condemned to be hanged and burnt gallowes and all; which judgement was accordingly executed upon Sir *Roger Aston*, and eight and twenty of the Rebels in *Smithfield*; most of the Prisons in and about *London*, were filled with these lob-lords, or lollards, which nick-name, saith *Tritemius*, was deduced at first from one *Gualter Lolhard*, a German, howsoever *Linwood* deriveth

Punishment of  
treason and heresie.

veth it a lolio, quia sicut lolium inficit segetes, sic Lollardi multoties inficiunt fideles simplices inter quos conversantur.

In this time the Parliament continuing, the King (as his father was before) was much importuned, by some somewhat infected with *Oldcastle's* opinion, and therefore not well pleased with the greatnesse of the Clergy, to suppress the religious houses of this kingdome, because, as they affirmed, they were made the nurses of idlenesse, and cages of uncleane birds. To divert this storme into another quarter, it was advised that *Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should set on foot the Kings Title to *France*, which thus he sets forth.

*Philip* the fourth, called *Philip* the Faire, eldest brother of *Charles* Earle of *Valoys*, was the forty sixth King of *France*; he married *Joane*, Queen of *Navarre*, and by her had issue, three sons:

*Lewis*, surnamed *Hutyn*, or *Mutyneere*.

*Philip* the Long, and

*Charles* the Faire: and one only daughter, christened *Isabel*, which was married to your Majesties Predecessor, *Edward* the second; she survived her three brothers, who successively, one after the other, had enjoyed the Crowne of *France*. But after the death of *Charles*, upon a pretended fundamentall Law of that kingdome, *Philip* of *Valoys*, sonne of *Charles*, the younger brother of *Philip* the Faire, endeavouring to exclude all females from Sovereigne inheritance, layed hold of the Imperiall Diadem, against whom, in right of his mother, *Edward* the third opposed, and quartering the armes, which was *semi de luces*, proclaimed his Title to be King of *France* and *England*, and in hostile manner entred *France* with Banners displayed, where he performed those honourable exploits, that whilst any Records last, can never be forgotten; there he continued victorious during the time of *Valoys*, and left his son, the Black Prince, to prosecute his claime, who, to his eternall commendations, did so, that he tooke, not onely *John* the French King prisoner, but braved *Charles* the fifth, at his great City of *Paris*, to his teeth, and unanswered, the wise King thinking it no good pollicie to meet a roaring Lion in the field: and had not God, on whose will depends all things, staid this ever to be renowned Prince in his course, by stopping his breath, the question had long since been decided, and *England* had totally brought *France* to subjection; but he being dead, and his father but a short time surviving, left his grand-son, an infant, to finish what his father and grand-father had so happily commenced, and so gloriously had continued: But unless the Lord build the house, the workmen labour but in vaine; so the Lord displeased with the disorder of those times, gave *France* a time to breathe and gather strength, and opportunity to *Charles* the sixth to change the armes of *France* from the *Semi de luces*, to three Flower-de-luces, yet is the Title to *France* the same that it was before; and though your royall father otherwise imployed, did not prosecute the claime, yet he did not disclaime the right, but hath to you (for whom I rest assured God hath reserved victory) both left that, and the meanes to obtaine it. Then went he on learnedly and pathetically, and refuted that unjust surmise of the Salick law, both by reason and example; and first whereas, *interram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, was the text whereon they build their position; he proved that that was made in *Germany*, in disdain of the dishonest manners of the German women, and had no relation to *France*, for that *Pharamond*, whom they affirme to be maker of that Law, deceased above three hundred

An.

1414.

R. 2.

Ann.  
1414.  
R.I.

Motives  
for the  
King to  
lay claime  
to the  
Crown of  
France.

Embassa-  
dors sent  
to France.

hundred and fifty yeares before the Frenchmen were placed beyond the River *Sala*, the one dying at 426. and the other being seated there *An. 805.* And for example, he cited *Pepyn*, *Hugh Capet*, and others, who neither had right, nor colour-like right to the Crowne of *France*, but as heires generall, as their owne stories manifest: he fortified likewise his assertions with Scripture out of the booke of *Numbers*, *When a man dieth without a Sonne, let his inheritance descend unto the Daughter*: to this he added, that if the King would be pleased to advance his Banner in *France*, to challenge his rightfull inheritance, the warre being just, the cause good, and his claime undeniable, his Clergie would furnish him, of their owne free gift, with such a masse of money, as never subjects at one time presented King with the like. This motion took on all sides, and the offer of money wherewith to pay the souldiers, so pleased the King, that nothing was now thought of but the conquest of *France*. He begins therefore to alter the bearing of his *Semi de luces*, and quarters what the then French King bare; and then sencerth the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord high Admirall, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred horse, Embassadors to *Charles* the sixt, to require in peaceable manner (for the avoiding the effusion of Christian blood) the surrender of the Crowne of *France*, with the members thereof; which if the King would yeeld unto, then King *Henry* would be pleased to take to wife *Katherine* the Daughter of *Charles*, and endow her with all the Duchies belonging to the Crowne of *France*: but if *Charles* refused so to doe, that then *Henry* would with fire and sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The strangeness of this message amazed the King, and amuzed his Councell: they craved time to answer, and the King of *France* promised to speed Embassadors with his answer to the King of *England*.

The *Dolphin*, like one that cuts another man meat and his owne fingers, having wit, but wanting discretion, deriding as it were the King of *Englands* youth, as deeming him fitter to play, than to attempt matters of such consequence, sent him a tonne of Tennisballs: which King *Henry* distasting, promised with an oath, before many moneths were past, to toss such iron Balls among them, that the best armes in *France* should be unable to hold a Racket to returne them. And forthwith due provision being made, and all things prepared, he drawes together his forces; and in his absence to secure the *Scots* and *Welsh* from attempting his prejudice, he appointeth an Army to attend the Marches, and upon all alarums to be ready; he ordaines his Mother-in-law *Ioane* Daughter of *Charles* King of *Arragon*, Governour in his absence; and whilst he is dispatching, hee sends *Richard* Earle of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, with the Abbot of *Westminster*, to the generall Councell appointed at *Constance*.

The *Dolphin* sent as Embassadors (the King of *France* being weake and sickly) the Earle of *Vandome*, with others; who having audience, the Archbishop of *Bruges* made a long Oration in praise of peace, and dissuaded warre, concluding with a tender of the Lady *Katherine* with a summe of money, and some Townes of no great wealth or importance. The King of *England* feasts them at his owne Table, and entertaines them royally, and tooke order with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give them answer to this effect; That if the King of *France* would not give his Daughter, and with her the Lands and Seigniories demanded, that he would not disband, but, with all extremities that follow warre, prosecute his right, and never give

Embassa-  
dors sent  
to the  
Councell  
at Con-  
stance.



give over till he had recovered his Patrimonie, or lost his life; the King avowing the Archbishops speeches, promising by the word of a Prince to performe the same, and to visit them sooner than they should have cause to bid him welcome, and so he dismissed them. All things prepared and in readinesse for France, as the King (having shipt his men) was ready to goe on shipboard himselfe, a plot of treason is discovered, set on foot by *Richard Earle of Cambridge*, *Henry Lord Scroope of Masbam*, Lord Treasurer, and *Sir Thomas Gray of Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the French agents: These he caused to be apprehended; and upon examination they confessed the treason, and the summe of money by them to that end received, and were immediately executed. This *Richard of Connesburgh*, second son of *Edmond of Langley*, married *Anne*, sister and heire of *Edmond Mortimer Earle of March*, and had issue, *Richard Earle of Cambridge*, Duke of *Tork*, and *Isabel*, married to *Henry Lord Bourchier Earle of Essex*. Some gather, and I must confesse it is somewhat probable; that the Earle of *Cambridge* was not so mercenary, as to commit Treason for money; but would have confessed the cause; had it not bene for feare to bring the Earle of *March* in question, that his title was by him and others intended to have bin set on foot, and strongly backt by *Sir John Oldcastle* and others, if not, as afore, prevented; but hereby were the sparkes discerned, that afterwards blazed so ragingly over the *Lancastrian* family.

The wind blowing a faire gale, King *Henry* weighs Anchor; and with his whole fleet puts to Sea, and on our Lady Eve landeth at *Caux*, where the River of *Sayne* runneth into the Sea: without resistance being come on shore, he caused Proclamation to be made, that none, upon paine of death, should take any thing out of any Church or Chappell, or offer any violence to any that should be found unarmed, and that no quarrell should be renewed whereby any affray may be made. Then layes he siege to *Harflew*, the Lords *Touteville* and *Gaucourts* being within the same. The French King, advertised of the arrivall of the English, sent the Constable, the Seneschal, and Marshall of France, with others, to the Castle of *Caudobark*, from thence, as occasion should be offered, to relieve *Harflew*: but the English ceased not daily to forrage, whilst the Duke of *Gloucester*, to whom the ordering of the siege was committed, ceased not to ply the battery, and so kept them in the Towne waking with continuall assaults.

The Captaines of the Towne, perceiving that they were not able long to hold out, the walls being undermined, and the Earles of *Huntington* and *Kent* possesse of the brest, and thereon had pitcht their Colours, about midnight sent to crave parley: whereupon the Duke of *Excester*, the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and *Sir Thomas Erpingham*, were sent, with this instruction, that if they would not instantly surrender the Towne without condition, there should no time be spent in communication; yet upon the Lords importunity, the King gave them five dayes respite, in which time, if no rescue came, they should surrender the Town into the Kings hand, and for their lives and goods to stand to the Kings mercy. Hereupon the Lord *Bacqueville* was sent to the French King to acquaint him with the composition, but no relief coming, they surrendered within three dayes; the souldiers were ransomed, and the Towne sacked: the Duke of *Excester* was appointed Captaine thereof, who left there for his Lieutenant *Sir John Falstaff* with fifteen hundred men. The dead of winter approaching, the King caused all those souldiers, that had not payed their ransomes, to sweare to render themselves prisoners at

An.  
1414.  
R.2.

The King  
arrives in  
France.

*Harflew*  
besieged.

*Harflew*  
taken:

Callice

An.  
1414.  
R.2.

*Calice* at the feast of *Saint Martin* following: whereupon two Ports which stood on the North side of *Harflew*, which till then expecting aid stood out, rendred likewise: and then, having repaired the Bulwark, and furnished it with all things necessary, he marched to *Porthouse*, intending to passe the River there before the Bridges were broken.

The *Dolphin* had taken order to carry into places of safetie all kinde of provision which might be usefull for the reliefe of the English; But King *Henry* kept on his way, enforcing the Townes as hee went to supply his wants; and comming to the rivet of *Seame*, he found all the Bridges broken, and the foords stakt: he marched to *Arams* in that orderly manner, that the enemy durst not offer to impeach his passage, untill he came to the Bridge of *Saint Maxene*, where thirty thousand French appearing, he pitcht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; where, the more to encourage his men, he gave the order of Knighthood to *John Lord Ferrars of Groby*, *Reignold Graystocke*, *Percy Tempest*, *Christopher Morisby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Hadvesten*, *John Hobsalion*, *Henry Mortimer*, and divers others: But not perceiving the French to have any great will to come on, he marched by the Towne of *Amiens* to another place of strength called *Bower*, and there stayed two dayes, expecting battell: and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peasants in multitudes (relying upon their numbers; and the aide of the garrisons of *Corby*) gave the King a Camisado, and having forestald the passage in a steight, with certaine men of armes, sent from the *Dolphin*, they charged the right wing of the English, which was led by *Sir Hugh Stafford* and *Lord Bourchier*, so hotly, that they wonne away his Standard: but the same was againe recovered by *John Bromley* of *Bromley*, who being a Commander in *Staffords* Regiment, not only made the retiring troops to stand, but, renewing the fight, with his owne sword slew him that had the *Lord Bourchiers* Colours; and taking them up, displayed the same, with sight whereof the English were so much encouraged, that they fell in with that vehemence upon the French, that they presently rowted and fled: the *Lord Stafford* recompenced the valiant exploit of his kinsman, and for the same gave to him an annuitie of fiftie pounds per annum, assigned out of all his lands in *Staffordshire*, as by the enrolment of that deed is extant; the Seale is a Cheuron charged with a Mullet, about the same engraven, *Signa Hugonis de Stafford militis*.

The same night, after the retreat sounded, the King found a shallow foord betwixt *Corby* and *Peron*, never spied before, at which the night following he passed safe, making what march he could without *Alte* towards *Calice*. Notwithstanding the extremities which attend his Army, marching through an enemies Countrey, where no forrage could be found, and small store of pillage, yet did the King so strictly observe the due performance of his first Proclamation, against Church-robbing, that hearing one complained of to the Marshall, for having stolne, or, as the phrase of them is, made booty of a silver Pix out of the Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the souldier also to be hanged; which due justice at that time done, kept the rest from offending in that kind, and provoked the people under hand to relieve his men with necessities.

The French King, hearing that King *Henry* had past the River *Seame*, assembled his Councell, whereof thirty five appearing, to the point in question, thirty of them advised, that the English should not depart without being fought with: but five (whereof the *Dolphin* was one) were of a contrary

The Peasants assailed King Henry.

Pro recuperatione sigilli sui.

trary opinion; and though they assented not, yet by the major voyces enforced to consent. *Montjoy* the French King at Armes, was sent to defie the King of England, as an enemy to France, and to tell him he should be fought with. King Henry's answer was, he was unwilling to provoke battaile, yet too confident in God to feare it; by whose good leave, he would proceed in his journey: and if the French, or any other would oppose him, if he could not finde his way, he would make it, or his Sword should faile him: and so suffered the Herald (being well rewarded) to depart. King Henry having notice, that he must of force passe another River in his way, over which, there was but one passable Bridge; he commanded certaine troopes of horse to go thither on the spurre; and some foot Companies to speed thither, to second them, and to make good the same, untill the Army should come. When the horse came thither, they found the French very busie in breaking downe the bridge; but perceiving the approach of the English, they left their work and fled. The passage being cleered, upon the two and twentieth of October, the King of England passed over with his Army.

The Duke of Yorke, that led the rereward, sent word to the King, that his skowts had discovered the enemy to come on apace; whereupon he made a stand, and gave direction to the Officers, what course to take, to acquaint their souldiers, that to fly would but cause a lingring death; for their flight would be out of the pan into the fire, there being no place of refuge neere; and the way thither (if any were) was altogether unknowne. And so mounting on horseback, he road from place to place, assuring them of his resolution to live and die with them; and so with his word and countenance, he so encouraged his men, that they were generally resolved to conquer or die; and accordingly prepared themselves; reconciling themselves to God by confession, and receiving the Sacrament; and lastly, embracing each other with constant protestations, to be firme and faithfull one to the other: so upon Friday the five and twentieth of October, being derayned in order of battaile, they attended the signall to begin.

The Constable of France, divided his Companies into three battailes; In the first were placed eight thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Archers, and fifteene hundred Crossebowes; the wings consisting of two thousand two hundred men at Armes: this battaile was led by himselfe, the Dukes of Orleans, and Bourbon, the Earles of Ewe, Richmond, and Vandosme, the Lord Dampier, the Admirall of France, the Marshall Bouciqualle, and others.

2. The middle battaile, wherein were more men at Armes, was commanded by the Dukes of Barre and Alanfon, and by the Earles of Vawmont, Salings, Blamont, Grantpee, and Rusey.

3. In the rereward, were all the remainder of the French forces, and guided by the Earles of Marle, Dampmortyne, Fauconbridge, and the Lord Lonray, Captaine of Ards. The Frenchmen thus ordered, consisting of sixfold the number of the English, thought of nothing but the bootie they should get. In the meane time, King Henry having made choice of a peece of ground, halfe fenced on his back with the Village wherein they had encamped the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches; began there to order his Battailles. But first he appointed an ambush of two hundred bold Archers, which should upon a watch-word given, make a whole flight upon the flank of the enemies horse. The Vantguard consisting of Archers onely, was conducted by the Duke of York, who out of a brave and heroick courage, had made entreaty for that place; with him were the Lords

An.  
1414.  
R. 2.

The order  
of the bat-  
taile of the  
French.

The Duke  
of York  
leads the  
English  
Vantgard.



An.  
1414.  
R.2.

*Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhop.* The maine battaile was led by the King in person, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: With him were the Duke of *Glocester*, his brother the Earle Marshall, *Oxford* and *Suffolk*.

The rereward was led by *Thomas Duke of Exceter*, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the Horsemen as wings guarded the Companies on both sides.

The be-  
ginning of  
the fight.

The King to prevent the fury of the French Cavalery, by the direction of the Duke of *York*, appointed divers Stakes, shod with iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed the Pioners to attend, to remove them, as occasion and direction gave order. These things thus ordered, publike prayers were humbly made, and the onset was expected; which was presently performed by the French horsemen, who gave on with a furious bravado; but Sir *Walter Orpington*, who was thereunto appointed, giving the signall, the English gave a great shout, whereupon according to direction, the Bowmen behinde the hedges sent forth such a shoure of Arrowes, that the French horse thereby galled, were so unruly, that their riders could not force them to give against the ditch, to come at those that were beyond the ditch. Whereupon the Vantguard of the English, taking advantage of their disorder, made forward, and powred another volley of arrowes among them, by means whereof the horse throughly gald, either cast their riders, or through their unrulinesse so opened their rancks, that the right Wing of the English horse gave in so manly, that the French horse disorderly retiring, broke the array of their foot, who were miserably trod downe, and disrancked with their owne Company. By this the two hundred Bowmen having emptied their quivers, flung away their Bowes, and with their swords fell upon the enemy, and wresting from them their owne weapons, made a great slaughter among them: and putting the vantguard to flight, they adventured upon the middle battaile, which the French horsemen taking in scorne to be charged with so small a company, bravely gave on. Whereupon the English made shew of retiring; but when they came where the Bowmen were impaled with the armed stakes, they made a stand: and as the horsemen were thereby gored, they were ready to helpe them forward with a pat on the pate, with a browne Bill, to their last home; whereby their maine battaile was broken and disordered; when presently the King with his maine battaile gave on with that resolution, that himselfe in person charged the Duke of *Alanson*, by whom he was in his carere well-nie unhorsed: but afterward he having slaine two of the Dukes men that were neerer to him than the Duke; he charged the Duke againe, and with his sword beat him from his horse, whom the Kings guard, notwithstanding the King cryed out to the contrary, slew out-right; and with his fall the maine battaile of the French first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly flung away their weapons and fled. The Kings reere being come up, they all fell upon the rereward of the French, which consisted of the greater number, but the weakest men, and the worst armed; but their courage with long standing was dropt to their knees, so that many of them humbled themselves thereon, and submitted to mercy; the rest presuming that the English with three houres fight, for so long the battaile continued, could not be able to follow, manfully ran away. In the meane time, certaine of the French horsemen, of those that ran first away, led on by *Robinet Bondile*, and the Captaine of *Agincourt*, presuming to redeeme their credit, from running away from souldiers, by fighting with boyes, set upon the Pages and Laundresses, and

The disorder  
of the  
French.

The Eng-  
lish having  
rowted  
the Van,  
chargethe  
battaile of  
the French.

The French  
submit.

sick

sicke souldiers that were left in the Campe, who gave such a lamentable shriek, that King Henry supposed either that the Constable had reallied his troopes, or that some fresh succours had beene come: howsoever he supposed he must have a second fight; he caused therefore all the arrowes that were sticking in the field to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and prepared ready to be againe used: amongst whom was found the Duke of Yorke miserably hacked and slaine: the sight whereof, and the danger of a second charge, made King Henry give order, that the prisoners should be all slaine, saving such as were principall men, and those were all bound backe to backe, and so left; neither could the King be for this justly taxed of cruelty, for this killing his enemies in cold blood, when the number of the prisoners exceeded his souldiers, and the uncertaintie of either their honestie, or the enemies hardiment, that were then expected to charge them, could give the King no assurance of safetie without their slaughter. Then the King againe embattelled his weary, but willing souldiers; upon whom the Earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, with six hundred good men at armes, which had stood still all day, gave a brave charge, and had they had more number, they would have troubled K. Henry, but being so few, and the stakes having galled so many of their horses, they were quickly dispatched; but to their honour, it is recorded, that they fought valiantly, and died honourably; all being slain or taken, and slew more of the English, than the whole Army had done. The King being satisfied by the skowts, that no enemy was to be scene, caused the Army in their array, as they were to give God thanks for the victory, causing the Clergie present to sing the Psalm of David, *In exitu Israel de Egypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the verse, *Non nobis domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneele upon their knees, and the horsemen to bow their bodies, and then singing *Te Deum*, and other holy hymnes, they marched to the enemies Campe, where they found plenty of all things; with which, having well refreshed themselves, the King gave them liberty to make booty, and take the spoile.

Next day came Mountjoy, and foure Haralds more, to have leave to give the dead buriall, and to know the number of the slaine; which (after he had feasted them at their Country-mens cost) he granted unto them: with whom the English Haralds were appointed to search, who made returne, that there were slaine 12000 and odde, whereof 126. were of the Nobilitie, bearing Banners; there were of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-armour 7874. whereof 500. were Knighted the night before the battaile; and of the common souldiers about 1600. Amongst the slain of the Nobilitie, were Charles le Brets, high Constable, Jaques of Chatillon, Admirall of France, the great Master of France, the Master of the Crosse-bowes, the Dukes of Alanson, Brabant, Bar, the Earles of Neuers, Marle, Vaudmout, Beaumont, Grandper, Rousey, Fauconbridge, Foys, and Lestreuck. There were taken prisoners, Charles Duke of Orleance, John Duke of Burbon, the Lords Donwert, Fosseux, Humiers, Roy, Camny, Hamcourt, Noell, Bonciqualt, and many others.

On the English part were slaine, \*Edward Duke of Yorke, and the Earle of Suffolk, and not full 600 of all; who were all buried in Christian buriall. But Philip Earle Choroloys was out of charity enforced at his own cost, to bury in a square plot of ground of his own, of 1500 yards compasse, in three graves by poll accounted 5800. and odde souldiers, and yet sent many yet alive, though grievously wounded, to *Vall merseus de dieu*.

King Henry having well refreshed himselfe and souldiers, and laden them

Ann.  
1415.  
R. 3.

\* Edward Plantagenet Duke of Yorke married Philip daughter & coheire of John Mahon, Lord of Dunster, but dyed without issue. Michael de la Poole Earle of Suffolke died without issue also.

An.  
1416.  
R. 5.

all with spoiles of great value, and rich prisoners, in faire order marched to *Callice*. From whence on the sixt of November, with his prisoners, which according to their oathes rendred themselves from *Harflue*, as those taken at *Agincourt*, with the dead corpes of the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Earle of *Suffolke*, whereof one was buried afterward at *Fordinghey*, the other at new *Elme*; he set sayle and arrived at *Dover* the same day: after his landing he gave straight order, that no ballad or songs should be made or sung, more than of thanksgiving to the Lord, for his happy victory, and safe returne; and that nothing that might tend to ostentation, or boasting of the valiant, or cowardly act of any in that service, should be either said or sung. Neverthelessse, the shame of his ill daring thoughts, did so vilely vex the *Dolphin*, that he died suddenly.

*Thomas* Duke of *Exceter*, Captaine of *Harflue*, with three hundred English, made a road into *Normandy*, and returning laden with prey, was encountered by the Earle of *Arminacke*, with five thousand horse, who tooke their boory from them over-night; but in the morning, when they endeavoured, from out the vantage of a thick enclosed Orchard, wherein they had rested all night to march away, they were eistwoones charged by the French, whom with a desparate resolution they entertained, and in that manner behaved themselves, that they not only escaped safe to *Harflue*, but recovered a great part of the lost bootie, and made a great slaughter of their enemies, and returned without much losse.

*Sigismund* the Emperour, cousin german to King *Henry*, accompanied with the Archbishop of *Remes*, Ambassadour from the French King, arrived at *Callice*, to whom were sent thirtie great Shippes to waite him over. At *Dover* the Duke of *Glocester*, with a brave company of Gallants, upon his approaching to land, with their swords drawne, stept up to the knees in water, saying, If he came as the Kings friend, or for his honour to move ought, he should be welcome; But if, as Emperour, he claimed any jurisdiction, they were ready to resist him to the death. Whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperiall authoritie, and is received with all besitting honour: he was afterwards with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived, at *Windsor* elected Companions of the noble order of the Garter, and sate in their Stalles at the solemnitie of the Feast. The Emperour after the departure of the Duke, stayed to mediate a peace between *England* and *France*: which the King (being advertised of the hard escape of his men in *Normandy*) would not listen unto. Neverthelessse, the Emperour very politickly awaited his time, where to take his best hint to perswade an agreement, which might fortunately have been found, had not newes come of the besieging of *Harflue*; so all was dashd.

The new Constable with a great power suddenly clapt downe before the Towne, when the Vice-admirall of *France* brought up the whole Navy, with intent whilst the Constable should assaile it by land, to have entred the Towne by the water side. But the Duke of *Exceter* defended the Towne valiantly; by whose valour and indefatigable diligence, they were defeated of their expectation. King *Henry* in person was preparing to Sea with all speed, but being by the Emperour dissuaded, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, accompanied with the Earles of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers Lords and Barons, with two hundred sayles, to the rescue of *Harflue*; they made sayle from *Rye*, and not without some crosses at Sea, upon the feast day of the Assumption of

The Duke  
of *Glocester*  
entertaineth  
the  
Emperour  
at *Dover*.

*Harflue*  
besieged  
by the  
French.

Relieved  
by the  
Duke of  
*Bedford*.



our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*; Upon notice of the approach of the English Navy, *Narbon* set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven; The Duke sent before his strongest Ships; Two French Ships advancing too forward, were laid aboard and taken; The fight was continued and resolutely maintained, untill the English having sunke five hundred vessels one and other, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoa*, wonne the harbour, and notwithstanding some opposition made by the Gallies, which had the advantage with oares to run out of the reach of the Artillery of the English, they relieved *Harflue*. Upon notice hereof, the Duke of *Arminacke* raysed his siege, and departed to *Paris*, leaving somewhat more than a little provision of amunition behind him; which they of *Harflue* tooke and stowed up for them.

Ans.  
1416.  
R. 4.

The Duke of *Beauford* having finished what he came about, returned to the King, who with the Emperour gave him great, but no more than deserved commendation. Whilst these broyles were honourably managed abroad, two too uxorious husbands, the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Trussell* of *War-mingham* in *Cheshire*, who had married the Daughter of Sir *John Strange*; most dishonorably fought in maintaining their wives folly (forgetfully striving for place) at a Sermon in Saint *Dunstons* Church in the East, by occasion whereof, there was much partaking on both sides, whereby the Congregation was much disturbed, a great tumult raysed, some slaughter, and more bloudshed done; the delinquents were committed to the Counter; the Church suspended; and upon examination the Lord *Strange* was found guilty, and by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* adjudged to penance; which was thus performed; All the Lords servants in their bare Shirts, from *S. Pauls* Church, where the sentence was given, followed the Parson of Saint *Dunstons*; after them the Lord bare-headed, with a wax taper in his hand, the Lady bare-footed, the Archdeacon *Reignold Renwood* following last, went to Saint *Dunstons* in the East, where at the rehallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the vessels with water, and according to the sentence, shee offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds, and the Lord a Pixe of silver of five pounds. There was then belike in use no commutation of penance; Surely I am perswaded, that if they might have bought out their penance for money, they would have trebled their offerings; I could wish that such severitie of discipline might now be practised against such delinquents, we should then have devotion with more humilitie, and lesse striving for places in the Church.

Penance  
done.

The Emperour desisteth from further mediation of peace with *France*, and entreth in a League defensive and offensive with King *Henry*, wherein onely the Pope is excepted: which concluded upon the nineteenth of October, Anno 1416. he returned towards *Germany*; King *Henry* accompanied him to *Callice*, whither the Duke of *Burgondy* came, to confirme the League concluded on before by the Earle of *Warwick*, and other the Kings Ambassadors and him concerning *Flaunders*, and *Arthoyse* onely. from Midsummer 1416. untill Michaelmasse following, where it was prolonged further till Michaelmasse 1419. which gave occasion of suspicion to *France*, that the Duke was no firme friend of theirs.

King Henry  
accompanied  
the Empe-  
rour to  
Callice.

The Emperour takes his journey to *Holland*, the Duke returnes to *Graveling*, and King *Henry* to *Dover*, where he landed on Saint *Lukes* Eve; upon his arrivall he sent new Ambassadors, viz. the Earle of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bathe*, and *Heresford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*; and

Ann.  
1416.  
R. 4.

England at  
a generall  
Councell  
accounted  
to be one  
of the five  
principall  
Nations.

The Duke  
of Bedford  
made Reg-  
gent.

The Earle  
of Hun-  
tingtons  
fortune  
at Sea.

the Pryor of *Worcester*, to the Councell of *Constance*; whither the Emperour in person likewise went; in this Councell it was decreed, that *England* from thenceforth should have the title of the English nation, and should be accounted one of the five principall Nations, which often before had been moved, but never granted till then; and herein were all *Wickliffes* positions condemned. At this Councell the Antipope *John* was proscribed, and all his goods and treasure, amounting to the summe of 750000. were seised.

The Parliament, (by reason of the Emperours being in the Land, prorogued) began againe the nineteenth of October, wherein towards the prosecution of warres in *France*, was voluntarily granted unto the King from the Clergie, two whole Tenths, and from the Laitie a whole Fifteene. In this Parliament, during the Kings absence, *John Duke of Bedford* was made Regent of the Realme, having out of the Kings coffers allowance of one thousand pounds *per annum*, and forty pounds a yeare more out of the fee farme of *Exceter*.

Whilst King *Henry* is preparing for invasion, the French-men had waged divers Carracks, and other great Ships of the *Genoaes* and *Italians*, which joyning with the French fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Iaques Bastard of Burbon*, to barre all succour from *Harflew*.

*John Earle of Huntington*, son to the Duke of *Exceter*, beheaded at *Cicester*, is sent to Sea to skowe the Coasts, who encountering with the Bastard *Burbon*, after a long fight, tooke the said Bastard, and three of his great Carracks, with all the money for the halfe yeares pay for the fleet: and bowged three other Carracks, and dispersing the rest, cleered the mouth of *Seyne*, and returned to the King at *Southampton*; And upon the 23. of July, the King with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earles of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk* and *Somerset*; The Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitzhugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroope*, *Maitrevers*, *Bourcher*, *Ferrers of Groby*, and *Ferrers of Chartley*, *Fanhope*, *Gray of Codnor*, *Sir Gilbert Vmphrevile*, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, and a brave well-furnished Army, from *Portsmouth* took shipping, and upon the first of August landed in *Normandy*, neere to the Castle of *Foncke*. The Kings Army consisted of five and twenty thousand, five hundred and eight and twenty fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pioners. The Nobilitie and Gentry having at their own charges furnished him with eleven thousand, one hundred and eight and twenty men, whereof every fourth man was a Launceere. The King besieged the Castle of *Tonque*; which upon the ninth of August yeilded; at which time the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke the Castle of *Albervilleirs*, which the King gave to him and his heires, being the first land given by the King in *France*.

The King at the winning of *Tonque*, made eight and twenty Knights; and Captaine thereof, *Sir Robert Circkley*. From thence the Army marched to *Cane*, whither to prevent the Citizens from burning the Suburbs, the Duke of *Clarence* with a thousand men was sent, who found them firing thereof, but drove them away, quenched the fire, rescued the Abby Church of *Saint Stephens* from being throwne downe, and tooke in the Cell of *Nans*, which they had strongly fenced. The King sitting downe before the Towne, entrenched himselfe, and cast up a mount to prevent the Citizens from sallying. The King made many assaults, but finding the losse thereby, more than the gaines, he onely kept them busied with often alarums, whilst his Pioners laboured to undermine the walls, which being effected, upon the fourth of September,

September, he offered the besieged their lives, in case they would but submit, but they refusing, he made shew of giving a generall assault, whilst many of his men entred the Citie under the foundation. The Duke of *Clarence* with his Company, was the first that entred, and came upon the backs of those that defended the walls, whereby they were easily vanquished, and the whole Army entred without resistance. The King caused all the Armes in the Towne to be brought together to the Market place, where he caused his men in battell array to stand all night; in the morning he caused all the Magistrates and principall men of the Towne to come before him at their Senate house, where some of them for their stubborne refusall of grace proffered, were adjudged to death, and all the rest fined. The spoyle of the Towne he distributed among the souldiers. The Captain of the Castle made shew of standing at defence; but having advertisement, that the King had sworne to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, upon assurance to depart with life, bag and baggage, the habiliments of warre excepted, he made composition, and accordingly gave twelve hostages, that if he were not fully relieved before the twentieth of Sept. to render up the Castle; which not being done, he performed, and so the King had possession both of *Cane* and the Castle.

In the meane time of the Kings absence, the Scots in great numbers entred the English pale; but hearing the Duke of *Exceter*, with the Lord Wvards, were marching towards them with a great power, they retired without much hurt doing.

*Charles* the *Dolphin* being about seventeene yeares of age, being bare both of men and money, yet in the time of his Fathers weaknesse, studied how to put off this storme that hung over the Common-wealth, and by the counsell of the Constable, found a means to possesse himselfe of all his Mothers jewels, plate, and money, which was great; which he orderly expended in waging of souldiers, and making preparation for things necessary, for the defence of the Kingdome. But what can an alone woman do toward the good or safetie of the King or Common-wealth, she knoweth no good but gold, nor reckoneth any thing worthy the preserving, but beauty and costly apparell, she therefore being bereaved of those ornaments of womans greatness, (jewels) forgetting the perill wherein both her selfe and Nation stood, most intemperately passionate, began to work her womanish malice, placeth the Duke of *Burgondy* in the chiefe authority about the King, who having the sword in his owne hands, to revenge old injuries, resolveth first to tame the young gallant, and then to repulse the common enemy. The *Dolphin* likewise stomacking the inconsiderate folly of the Duke, to preferre private quarrels before publike preservation, minded first to repress his insolency, and then to attend the repelling of the forraine foe. In the meane time, King *Henry* pursueth his victorious successe, sendeth the Duke of *Clarence* further into the Countrey, who with great difficultie tooke in *Bayeux*, whereof he made the Lord *Matrevers* Captaine. The Duke of *Glocester* likewise tooke the Citie of *Lyseux*.

The King remained still at *Cane*, repaying the Towne, and fortifying the Castle, putting out the Natives that were impotent, or young infants, to the number of fifteene hundred; and in their places did settle English people; and finding a great masse of money and plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle; he caused the same, upon prooffe, to be respectively delivered unto all such as came to make claime unto the same, and would acknowledge him for their Sovereigne.

Ann.  
1416.  
R. 4.  
*Cane* taken.

*Bayeux* taken.

His



Ann.

1416.

R.4.

The Kings  
good poli-  
cy to al-  
lure the  
French.

Courfey  
Castle  
yeilded.

Sees sub-  
mits to  
K. Henry.

Falays ta-  
ken.

His mercifull and moderate carriage, wonne him the good report of his enemies, nay, it incited most of the Captains and Governours neere adjoyning, to render their commands unto him, which he accepted of as testimonials of their dutie. And upon comming into those parts so rendred unto him, he restored to many of them upon oath of due fidelitie, their places of charge and command again, making alwayes protestation, whosoever would become his subjects, and sweare allegiance unto him, they should enjoy their lands and liberties, in as large, if not in more free and ample manner than they enjoyed them before; an excellent policy to win the *Normans*, whose rugged condition is, and was alwayes, easier to be led with facile and gentle courses, than to be driven by compulsary and harsh meanes; for hereby they were contented to forsake the *French*, and turne to the *English* Crowne.

The King having orderly settled things in *Cane*, made Sir *Gilbert Vmffre-ville* Captaine of the Towne, and Sir *John Popham* Bailiffe, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Captaine of the Castle; and so the first of October departed to *Courfey* Castle, which within three dayes yeilded. The fourth of October, he came to *Argenion*, the Towne and Castle whereof made composition, that if they were not rescued by the day, then to surrender: those that would become subject to *England*, to stay, the rest to depart with their moveables; for want of succour at the prefixed time, both were yeilded, and Covenants on all parts performed. The Lord *Gray* of *Codnor*, was made Governour there. Whilst the King marched to *Sees*, a populous place, which together with many adjoyning peeces, acknowledge King *Henry* for their Sovereigne, and were kindly received, and fairely entreated. The Towne of *Alanfon* endured the brunt of eight dayes siege; but in the end tooke out a Copie from the former places for submission. The Duke of *Glocester* was made Captaine thereof, and Sir *Ralph Lentell* his Lieutenant; certaine overtures of peace were made by the *Dolphin* at *Tonque* Castle, but none concluded, onely a truce was made for certain time, betwixt King *Henry* and the Duke of *Britaine*, who came in person to require the same; and the like was granted to the Queene of *Ierusalem*, and her sonne *Lewis*, for *Anjou* and *Mayne*, the Duke of *Britaine* being their Proxie for the obtaining the same. From *Alanfon* the Earle of *Salisbury* was sent to *Falays*, to view the strength thereof, and to keepe the inhabitants from comming forth: the King with his Army followed, and entrenched themselves to avoid excursions, and incursions. The King made his approaches to his best advantage: and though it was in the hard of Winter, made provision sufficient for his men, both against cold and hunger; wherupon the besieged concluded, if succour came not before the second of January next following, to yeild the Towne: the succour not comming, the Towne was yeilded, but the Castle held out, into which the Governour, and most of the best able men were gotten; but being fiercely followed, and kept in continuall action by assaults and myning, they were driven to make composition of surrender, if not rescued before the sixt of February; the souldiers to depart with their lives onely, and the Captaine to be ransomed. The prefixed time come, the Castle was surrendered, and the Captaine detained prisoner, untill the Castle was sufficiently repaired; his name was *Oliver de Many*. The King leaving for Captaine there, Sir *Henry Fitzhugh*, returned to *Cane*, to put in execution a Proclamation formerly made, that if the inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day to them prefixed, to grant their land to his souldiers; thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence* during life the Vicounties of

*Ange,*

*Ange, Orber, and Pontinz, Oe, Mere*; with all the lands of those that were not returned according to Proclamation.

All the while Lent the King lay at *Reyex* with part of his Army, but the residue were vntur upon exploits abroad. The Kings Navie still kept the Seas, scowring the Coasts, daily taking the French Bottomes they met. But upon the sixteenth of July, such a storme took them, that had they not by Gods good favour falne in with *Southern*, the whole Navie had been in great danger; yet in that Haven two Ballingers, and two great Carracks, laden with Merchandize, were drowned; and the Mast of one of the great Ships was with the storme blowne over the Towne wall: when the fury of the tempest was past, the Earles of *March* and *Huntington* waited over to *Normandy*, and landing there, marched up the Countrey to the King. The Earle of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot*, besieged the strong Castle of *Dampfront*. The Duke of *Clarence* at that time took *Courton* and *Burny*, and in the first, placed Captain *Aubyn*, and Captain *William Houghton*, in the other, he likewise appointed in *Chombis*, Captain *James Nevill*: in *Bechelovin* for Captain, the Earle Marshall, in *Harcourt*, Captain *Richard Woodville*, in *Fantgermon*, for Captain *John Saint Alhon*, in *Creuener*, Sir *John Kirby*, to whom the same was after given for ever: in *Arvilhans*, Captain *Robert Hornby*, in *Bagles*, Sir *John Arthure* was made Captain, and also of *Fresny*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Vicount, was Captain.

The Duke of *Glocester*, with the Earle of *March*, and the Lord *Codnor*, march into the Isle of *Constantine*, wherein he likewise placed Capitaines of such places as he tooke in; as at *Corentine* the Lord *Botreux*, at *Saint Loe* Captaine *Reignold West*, at *Valeignes* Captaine *Thomas Burgh*, at *Pont done* Captaine *David Howell*, at *Hay de paps* Sir *John Aston*, at *Saint Savior* Sir *John Robbert*, lately made Vicount, at *Pantanson* Sir *Robert Gargraus*, at *Hambery* the Earle of *Suffolke*, (to whom afterwards the King gave that and *Broketwill*) at *Auranchos* Sir *Philip Hall*, at *Vire* the Lord *Matreers*, who was likewise Captaine of *Saint James de Bumeron*. And so having taken in the whole Island, except *Chereburgh*, he returned to the King, but was sent backe to the siege thereof, which held out about the space of five moneths, though in the meane time, all warlike stratagemes and meanes were used to take it; at last they made composition, that if not rescued within threescore and two dayes, to surrender and stand to the mercy of the King. In the meane time, the Duke caused his Campe to be strongly fenced with Rampiers and Bulwarkes, leaving nothing for the safeguard thereof, either unforeseene or unprepared. And whilst he was providing thus, the *Dolphin* and the Duke of *Burgoigne*, by the mediation of the Pope and his Cardinalls, were fully reconciled, and began to consult about the relieving their besieged Friend. The King to prevent any danger that might betide his brother, had taken order with the Lieutenant in the West Countrey of *England*, to send over two thousand men out of those parts, whom when the besieged at *Chierburgh* perceived at Sea to approach, they presumed of succour, but their hope failing, they surrendred both the Towne and Castle; whereof the Lord *Gray* of *Codnor* was made the Kings Lieutenant for the time, but afterwards the King made Captain thereof *John Bromley* Esquire; and for his hardy valour, and commendable forwardnesse, both at this siege and other places, he gave him the order of Knighthood, gave him faire possessions in the Iland, and made him Constable of *Basseville de Rosse*: This was the same party, that at *Corby* by his valour recovered the Lord *Staffords* Colours from the French; and for

An.  
1418.  
R.4.

A great  
storme.

6. Reg.

Captaines  
made over  
severall  
places.

The Dol-  
phin and  
Duke of  
Burgoigne  
reconcil-  
led.

Ann.  
1416.  
R. 6.

*Eureux* be-  
sieged.

*Louveis* be-  
sieged and  
rendred.

New in-  
ventions  
for passage  
over wa-  
ter.

*Roan* besie-  
ged.

for the remembrance of that service, had an honourable adjunct to his armes. The King intending to prosecute his inrendments to the full, being of equall spirit to dare and power to do, had sent for his Uncle the Duke of *Exceter*, who with fifteene thousand men within few dayes of Trinity Sunday came to the King; by whom he was commanded to besiege the City of *Eureux*, which he tooke in, and appointed Captaine thereof, Sir *Gilbert Halfall*. The Earle of *Kyme* then also tooke in the strong Castle of *Milley le Vesko*. The siege of *Roan* was the next thing attempted; which place was now fully fortified, and furnished for defence, both with men and ammunition; Thither, for the more safety, had all the neighbours conveyed all their riches, as being their sole place of refuge now. The King, to have his passage cleere, laid siege to the City of *Louveis*, which upon these conditions, that if they were not releived within seven dayes, then the souldiers to serve King *Henry*, the inhabitants to remaine there, as subjects to *England*; only al such Gunners as had discharged any piece of Ordnance to be hanged: no succor appearing at the day, the Covenants were performed accordingly.

The King marched to *Pont de Larch*, where he arrived the seven and twentieth of June. There was a stone-bridge which hindered the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded, King *Henry* devised therefore floates of wicker, covered with beasts hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the towne on that side; but to prevent the inconvenience that might come, by the River dividing the Army, there were more such floates made, and other devises with hogheads and pipes fastened to firre powles and Barges, and such like conveyances, with which he past over his men at pleasure; in the meane time, he caused divers souldiers that could swim, to make show of passing the River, three miles off another way; to which place, the French-men drew all their forces, but were deluded: whereupon presently the Fort at the bridge-foot was surrendred, and the souldiers taken to the Kings grace. From thence the Duke of *Exceter* with certaine horse, was sent to view the places about *Roan*, and with him *Windsor* the Herald, which summoned the Citizens to surrender the towne, and to submit themselves to the Kings mercy; but they proudly returned answer, they received none from *England*, nor none they would give the English; and instantly made a sally forth, but were beaten in with the losse of thirty of their men. The towne of *Louveis* the King gave to his brother *Clarence*, who made his Deputy there, Sir *John Goddard*; after the returne of the Duke of *Exceter*, the *Roanions* fired the suburbs, demolished all Churches, Chantries, and Hostells, leaving nothing without the City, which upon the last of July the King straightly besieged. The Kings quarter was the *Chartaux*; the Duke of *Clarence* at *Saint Gervays*; the Duke of *Exceter*, at *Port Saint Dennis*; Between the Duke of *Exceter* and the Duke of *Clarence*, lay Earle Marshall, to whom were joyned the Earle of *Ormond*, the Lords, *Harington* and *Talbot*, from the Duke of *Exceter* towards the King, were encamped the Lords, *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, and Sir *William Porter*, with the Northerne *Prickers*; the Earle of *Salisbury* and *Mortaignes* quarter lay at the Abbay of *Saint Katherine*; Sir *John Gray* was lodged against the Chappell of *Mount Saint Michael*; Sir *Philip Leech*, Treasurer of the Army, kept the hill next the Abby, and the Baron *Carew*, held the passage on the river Of *Seine*, with whom was Squire *Ienito Dortoyes*; on the further side the river, were quartered the Earles of *Warraine* and *Huntington*, the Lords, *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, Sir *Gilbert Vm-*  
*phreville*,



*phrevile*, with his Company, lay before the Port de *Ponte*. A great chaine of iron set upon piles, and a new forced bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River.

The Earle of *Warwick* was sent to *Cawbeck*, standing betwixt *Roan* and the Sea. The Earle of *Warwick* sent Sir *John Bromley* and *George Vmphrevile*, with an hundred Archers, and two hundred Bill-men, to a little Castle called the *Strow*, and in the way were met by eight hundred French: Whereupon Sir *John Bromley* casting his Bow-men in a limasson or loose ring, and his Bill-men in two squares, which in close order marched towards the enemy, who seeing the number to appeare so small, gave on in that disorderly manner, that their Captaine the Lord of *Estrisles* was slaine, before any of his company could come to the rescues. The Bow-men opening their order, delivered such a shole of arrowes, even in the midst of their enemies, that they stood amazed, untill they were awakened with a second. The Bow-men as long as the arrowes lasted, kept the enemy aloofe, but at length they were enforced to make use of their slaine enemies weapons, with which they closing to the Bill-men, made it appeare, that they could make use of more weapons than one; and after three houres fight, the French fainted, and gave the English leave to take the spoyle of two hundred that were slaine; and the rancome of two hundred more taken prisoners. In this fight was slaine *George Vmphrevile*, and thirtie more, all the rest being hurt more or lesse; amongst whom, Sir *John Bromley* was hurt in the face and body: They were not able to goe forth of the field, but continued there all night; and in the morning some fresh men being come to them, they marched to the Castle, and so plyed them with assaults, and minings, that at length the besieged were glad to suffer the English Navie to passe by to *Roan*; whereof one hundred sayle passed by; and likewise they gave hostages, that they would not inter-meddle to ayd or assist *Roan* any way, but to follow her fortune, to render if shee did; wherewith Sir *John Bromley* went into the Castle, with two Esquires and a Surgeon, and the Company back to the King. By this time, the Duke of *Glocester* was come to the Camp, and quartered before the Port Saint *Hillary*, neerer the enemy by forty roades.

The Earle of *Kilmayne*, with sixteene hundred Irish, armed after their fashion, came from *Harflue* where they landed, to the King; who were by him assigned for quarter, the North side of the Armie, upon the way that cometh from the Forrest of *Lyons*. This charge the Earle joyfully accepted, and as proud of the employment, did many brave exploits, to the more damage of the enemy, than all the troopes of Horse.

The Kings Cousin-german, the King of *Pertugall*, likewise sent a Navie of well appointed Ships, to the mouth of the River of *Seine*, to stop all passage of succour to *Roan*. There were in *Roan* two hundred and ten thousand persons, at the beginning of the Siege, which made them so confident, that they sweare each to other, never to deliver up the Citie, as long as they could hold Sword, or handle Pike. The King acquainted herewith, stopped all passages, both by land and water, casting deep Trenches, and raising Bulwarkes, to hinder all sallies or receipt of reliefe.

The French, in the meane time, made many attempts upon divers pieces in the Kings hands; as upon *Kilbuisse*, *Enreux*, and *Loviers*, but were repulsed with great losse, but more disgrace. Before *Roan* no enterprize is left unpractised, no policie unattempted, how either partie might indamage other. But now the many mouths within the Citie, had devoured a great part

An.  
1418.  
R.6.

The English Navie  
passeth  
the river.

The good  
service of  
the Irish.

Ann.  
1418.  
R.6.

King Hen-  
rys chari-  
tic.

Roan coms  
to conpo-  
sition.

Surren-  
died.

part of their provision, and for the better saving of the rest, a great number of aged impotent creatures, were turned out of the Gates, whom the English would not suffer to passe the Trenches: betwixt which and the walls, the miserable people starved and dyed, without help of friend or foe. Upon Christmasse day, in honour of the birth of our Saviour, the King relieved, and suffered to passe as many as were at first put out, but suffered others that were thrust out a second time to famish, except relieved by the Towne. The unwonted noyse of Bells ringing, gave the King occasion to expect an enemy at his back; for prevention therefore of that danger, he gave order to Sir Robert Bapthorpe, Controller of the Army, to provide a deep Trench well staked, and with bastils to round the Camp, and to make defences both behinde and before, to withstand all sudden approaches. The famine began now to rage pittifully within the Citie; and the *Dolphins* promise to relieve them, now past hope of performance; a Parley is desired and obtained, but fruitlesse at the first; the demands of the besieged being more than stood with the Kings honour or pleasure to give consent unto; but upon the Commissioners returne into the Towne, the starved multitude began to upbraid the Commanders, and to tell them, that they must be famished to death for their obstinacies, and with threatening speeches, they told them, they would, if they would not, compound for their redemption upon any termes; enforced therefore to give way to their implacable furies, the Commissioners concluded, that after the nineteenth day of that instant Januarie, the Citie and Castle of *Roan* should be delivered to the King of *Englands* hands; and that all should submit to the Kings mercy, and should pay to him three hundred thousand Skutes of gold; every two to be of the value of the English Noble. Every Souldier to sweare never to beare Armes against the King of *England*.

That the starved creatures expulsed, should be admitted entrance, and receive reliefe during the time prefixed, if not before that time rescused.

Upon the day agreed upon, Sir *Guy de Builer*, and the Burgessees delivered up the keyes of the Citie and Castle, craving grace and favour. The Duke of *Excester* was appointed to take possession of the same, who accordingly entred with his souldiers.

The next day after, being Friday the twentieth of January, the King triumphantly made his entry, with foure Dukes, ten Earles, eight Bishops, sixteene Barons, &c. He was received with the Clergie, with two and fortie Crosses, and by them was conducted to our Lady Church, where after publike Thanksgiving, he tooke homage and fealtie of the Burgessees and Inhabitants, making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Liege-Lord, should enjoy the benefit of his protection, and retaine their possessions: whereupon many came in; and many Townes were surrendered. The Duke of *Britaine* forecasting the danger of having too potent a neighbour (except a friend) plant neere him, upon safe conduct obtained, came to *Roane*, where a League is agreed upon, that neither should make Warre upon other, except upon denuntiation thereof, six moneths before any attempt: this concluded, the Duke returned.

Whilst the King lay at *Roane*, to perfect all things, the Duke of *Glarence* tooke *Vernon* and *Naunt*, making Sir *William Porter* Captaine of the first, and the Earle of *March* of the other. The Earle of *Salisbury* tooke

in *Hunflew* (which was afterward given to the Duke of *Clarence*) *Munster de Villiers, Ewe, New-Castle*, whereof Sir *Philip Leech* was made Captaine.

An Overture agreed upon for an interview, betwixt the King of *England*, and the *Dolphin* of *France*, sayled through the *Dolphins* default, which displeased King *Henry*, who had in expectation thereof, gone from *Roane* to *Eureux*, from whence hee sent the Earle of *Warwicke*, to take in *la Roche Guyon*, which hee accordingly (but not without some losse) did, and thereof made owner of the Kings free gift; Sir *Guy de Bolyleere* lately Captaine of *Roane*. In all places the Kings Commanders prevailed, and by constraint or consent all pieces of strength, that were summoned, opened their gates unto the English: and it is worthy the observation, that when there is (as now there was) a mutuall intercourse of discreet direction, and diligent execution, warlike designs seld but prosper on the other side, where there is a want of skill to command, and want of will to obey, nothing can thrive, and these wants now hid, so clouded the affaires of *France*, that all lay at six and seven. The Duke of *Burgoyne* solicites an interview betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*: Embassadors on both sides are sent, King *Henry* is content to come to *Maunt*, so as the French King came to *Ponthoys*; which is consented to. King *Henry* kept his feast of Whitfontide at *Mounts*, where he made the stout *Gascoyne*, Captaine *le Buise*, Earle of *Longevile*, Sir *John Gray* Earle of *Tancerville*, and the Lord *Boucher* Earle of *Ewe*; upon the last day of May at the day appointed, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exceter*, his Vncle *Bewford*, the great Clerke and rich Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earles of *March* and *Salisbury*, with a thousand men at armes, entred the place appointed. The French Quene, her Husband being taken with his phrenzie, with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earle of *Saint Paul*, and a company of faire Ladyes, amongst whom as a baite to entangle the Kings youthfull affection, the Queenes beautiful Daughter, the Lady *Katherine* thoroughly instructed, and gorgeously attired presented her selfe, with whose sight though the King was ardently taken, yet with that moderation hee behaved himselfe, that though hee were resolved to make the enjoyment of her for wife, a chiefe Article to be granted, yet hee made no such apparant shew thereof, but that the other things requirable to bee concluded at that treatie, should be first agreed upon, but nothing was effected, for the *Dolphin* under hand, had made meanes to the Duke of *Burgoyne* to hinder all agreement, which King *Henry* observing, at their departure told the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that hee would have his demands and the Lady; or else drive the King out of his Kingdome, and make the Duke seeke another Dukedome. The treatie becomming fruitlesse and dissolved, the *Dolphin* and the Duke upon the sixt of July are reconciled, and the Articles thereof, signed, and sealed.

In the meane time a Conspiracy in *Roane* was timely discovered, and wisely prevented, and the Conspiratours upon examination and prooffe duly punished.

By direction from the King, the Earle of *Longevile* did valiantly surprise the Towne of *Poyntnose*, with fiftene hundred men, there being at that time within the Towne, a thousand Launceeres, and two thousand Arcubalisters, but had not the Earle of *Huntington* come in good time to second them, their valour opprest by multitude, could not have

An.  
1416.  
R. 6.

An Overture for an interview crossed by the *Dolphins* default.

R. 7.  
A Conspiracy in *Roane* discovered, *Ponthoys* surpris'd by the English.



An.  
1419.  
Reg. 7.

made good what they had atchieved: neither could they both have long subsisted, had not the Duke of *Clarence* come in their reskue, who to recompence the brave spirits of the first entrers, gave the spoyle of the Towne amongst them. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed by the space of two dayes, but perceiving no show of sally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoys*: King *Henry* comming thither, after he had sufficiently furnished the same with victuals and Artillery, he with his maine Army marched further into the Country, and in the way forced the Castle of *Vanion Villeirs*, but at the intercession of divers Ladyes, the guarrison permitted without armes or weapon to depart; Hereof was appointed Captaine *Iohn de Burgh*: upon the approach of the Armie which was upon the last of *August*, to the Castle of *Gyffers*, the onely peece that now stood forth in those parts; the Guarrison there made a sally, and much hindred the English in their sitting downe, by reason of the inaccessible passage thorow the Marishes, which in a manner surrounded the same; yet at length when they perceived the Kings resolution, not to depart without conquest, and calling to mind, that no place had beene of strength sufficient to withstand his power, they agreed if not reskued by a day (which they were not) to deliver both Towne and Castle to the King: The souldiers of the Garrison, and many of the Burgers tooke an oath of fidelity to the King of *England*, and remained there still, the Earle of *Worcester* was made Captaine thereof. The well defended Castle of *Galiard*, strong both by scituation and art, after six moneths siege, was surrendred to the Duke of *Exceter*, and thereof the King made the Lord *Rosse* Captaine, all the Country of *Velque seine* submitted, the King putting in men of valour and trust into the chief holds, as into *Gourney*, Sir *Gilbert Vmfreveile*, the Earle of *Worcester*, at *Newty*.

The Castle of *Dumall* (yeelded to the Earle of *Warwicke*) and was given him by the King, so that now all *Normandy* (Mount Saint *Michael* onely excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had beene detained wrongfully untill then, from him ever since the year 1207.

The *Dolphin* all this while, notwithstanding the agreement sealed, & settled as might bee thought, being perswaded that the Duke of *Burgoyne* was a bar to his ambitious desires, studied not so much to stop the overflowing current, of the King of *Englands* victories, as the effecting of his owne ends of revenge against the Duke, (a miserable thing, when one mans rising is grounded on the desired overthrow of another;) To that end therefore, covering his private malice, with the long roabe of public service, hee made show of removall of all rankour betwixt the Duke and him, and to that end, appointed a meeting of all the Peeres at *Mount Strewal* (saule you, where the Duke was barbarously murdered, whilst hee humbled himselfe in reverence, to the *Dolphin* on his knee: Which act was by so much the lesse to bee pittied in the Duke; by how much hee in the like kind upon the like enterview, had caused *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to bee murdered; But this recrimination of *Burgoyne*, for the murder of *Orleance*, can bee no excusation of the *Dolphins* perfidious treachery; Hereupon *Philip* Earle of *Caraloy*, the heire of *Burgoyne*, did forbear for a time the company of his Wife, the *Dolphins* Sister, but upon due consideration of her pliable and obsequious disposition, and the religious admonition of his Mother-in-law, and exhortation

hortation of his chiefeft Councillours, hee gave her ever after all requirable respect and obſervance, and turned his juſtly incenſed anger againſt the *Dolphin*: but without choler or diſtemperature, either in words or geſtures, howſoever his kindred and allies threatned revenge; But this diſtraction ſettled at home, and danger threatned abroad, drew a double feare or deſtruction upon the quieter minded Nobility, who uſed the employment of their uttermoſt endeavours, to procure a reconciliation betwixt the Queene, and the *Dolphin*; and a pacification of the King of *England*, and by their mediation, Embaſſadours are ſent to *Gyſors*, where King *Henry* lay, who gave them audience, and honourable entertainment, and was pleaſed to condeſcend, that Commiſſioners might have communication, but no ceſſation of war; no ſooner were they returned, but he drew his forces to *Maunt*, where he divided them into three parts, ſending the Duke of *Gloceſter*, with one part to *Saint German in lay*, which was delivered unto him. The Duke of *Clarence* with another was ſent to *Mountjoy*, which after ſome ſhow of great reſiſtance, was given over unto him. The third, under the conduct of the Duke of *Exceſter*, went to *Mewlancke*, which was ſtrongly defended, and compaſſed in with the great river of *Seine*: but by the invention of wooden towers reared upon boats, bridges, and floats; the French-men were ſo terrified, that for want of ſuccour at the time agreed upon, they ſurrendered the Towne, and gave haſtages, and oath to remaine true ſubjects to the King of *England*, and ſo were permitted to remaine there ſtill; the many rivolets cut out, and running in the ſeverall Forts and Caſtles, as are aforeſaid; might have much drayned the great river of the Kings Army; had not daily ſupplies from all forraine parts (drawne by the generall report of his honourable uſage of ſouldiers) of men, amunition, and money, out of his Dominions, bin brought unto him; but ſuch was his providence, and his Officers obedience and care, that nothing wanted that was needfull or neceſſary.

But now the new Duke of *Burgoyne* (a wiſe and politicke Prince;) having debated with himſelfe what courſe to take, to revenge his Fathers murther, and being aſſured, that if he ſhould oppoſe the *Dolphin*, and the *Dolphin* him, the King of *France* would loſe by both, and King *Henry* would carry away all; he endeavored to purpoſe an overture of peace betweene the two Kings, which he was the more likely to obtaine; by reaſon of his powerfulneſſe amongſt the Peeres, and the aſſurance of the Lady *Katherine*s readineſſe (who had more power over her Mothers affections then her owne) to joyne with him in any thing that might conduce, to her obtaining the effect of her wiſhes, which was aſwell the love of King *Henry*, as the peace and quiet of her Father and country, beſides the advantage the Duke had of the *Dolphin*, who was now obſerved to be more cunning and revengefull, then wiſe and valiant, and by the late murther made obnoxious to the diſteeme of his neereſt friends; Embaſſadours are againe ſent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoyne*, who were returned with gracious countenance, and ſome tokens of courteſie to the Duke, but withall a kind of intimation that there was ſmall hope of obtaining any thing at his hands concerning truce, if not deſired by the Lady *Katherine*, whoſe innocency, as he ſaid, knew not how to abuſe his credulity, as the others had done; whiſt theſe things are in agitation, his Armies lay not idle;

The Engliſh Army ſe-  
vered into  
three  
parts.

Ann.  
1419.  
Reg. 7.

French  
Embaſſa-  
dours ſent  
to King  
*Henry*.

Ann.  
1420.  
Reg. 8.

King Hen-  
ry sends to  
the Duke  
of Burgoyne.

King Hen-  
ry giveth  
meeting at  
Troyes, to  
the  
Queenes

The Earle of Salisbury tooke in *Fresney*.

The Earles *Marshall*, and *Huntington*, with their powers entred into *Maine*, and approaching *Mentz*, they were encountred by the power of the *Dolphin*, whereof they slew five thousand, and tooke two hundred prisoners; these tydings being brought to *Roan*, whither the King was come, to solemnize the Feast of Christs birth; thanksgivings to God were publicly made, and in the instant thereof, arrived other Embassadors from the King and Queene of *France*, who having audience, and the tenour of their embassage delivered, a Letter from the Lady *Katherine* to the King of *England*, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered; the contents whereof being considered, the King openly said, that he would wipe away the disrepute cast upon his actions, as though he should be the cause of effusion of so much Christian blood, as every day was likely to be made, if the wars should continue for his quarrell; and would turne the same upon the King of *France*, and his Adherents, if either they made not propositions, such as with safety of his honour might be granted, or did not condescend to such Articles, as hee would reasonably tender them, he therefore returned the Embassadors with good content, and sent the Earle of *Warwicke* and the Bishop of *Rocheſter* to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, betweene whom an accord was made, in case the King of *France*, and his Peers; with the Commons, would approve thereof; they being to that purpose by the Duke of *Burgoyne* solicited, willingly gave their consent, and appointed the Duke of *Burgoyne* to send his Embassadors, sufficiently authorized, to meet with King *Henries* Embassadors at *Troyes*, in *Campayne*, and to that end, the King of *England* was earnestly entreated so to do who thereupon sent his Vncle the Duke of *Excester*, the Earle of *Salisbury* with others, to the number of five hundred horse, to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who from thence came together with them to *Troyes*, upon the eleventh of March, where they were in that manner received, as where affection, and loving desire are the entertainers; there it was quickly concluded, that the King of *England* should speed himselfe to *Troyes*, there to be espoused to the fair Lady *Katherine*, & to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the deceased *Charles*; whereupon with aguard of fiftene thousand choice souldiers, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloceſter*, with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longevile*, *Tankerville*, and *Ewe*, the King of *England* came to *Troyes* upon the eighteenth day of May, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Pallace, where the Queene with her Daughters, the Dutches of *Burgoyne*, and the Lady *Katherine*, gave him Princely entertainment, where after some little pause, whilst the intercourse of complement was passing betwixt the French and the English, the King addressed himselfe to the Dutches of *Burgoyne*, demanding of her in besitting termes, if she thought her Sister *Katherines* affection was free, and not in bondage to any, to whom the Dutchesse with a gracefull smile made answer, that she durst pawne her soule, her Sister, till that houre she first saw his Highnes, was as free as any Virgin might be, but how she stood affected now, she referred him to her owne answer, iopportunity giving way (as when minds are willing, it may be easily apprehended) the Lady *Katherine* was by the King interrogated, how she stood affected to marriage; answered, she was to be disposed of by the King otherwise, if she might have the liberty of her owne will, she would give him a more



more full answer; and so making offer to depart, King *Henry* with an amiable voice, said, give but your consent, and I will by Gods leave make all the rest agree; or leave them landlesse or livelesse, and thereof rest assured, by this pledge of my faith; and so tendred unto her a Ring of a great price; which she not without some blushing received; and making a courtly conge unto him, left him, and hee the company: being come to his lodging, hee gave order to his Commissioners to make speed in their consultations; & not to give the least way to any procrastinations; whereupon that speed was used in their conferences, that upon the twentieth day of May, the Lady *Katherine* was affianced unto him in Saint *Peters* Church; after this the two Kings with their privy Councillours divers times met, and all points of accord, were reduced to a certainty and concluded; to which agreement the Kings and all present made faith for the performance, and the Duke of *Burgoyne* for his perticular, made oath as followeth;

King *Henry* affianced to the Lady *Katherine*.

I *Philip* Duke of *Burgoyne*, for my selfe and my heires, upon the holy Evangelists of God, sweare to *Henry* King of *England*, and Regent of *France* under King *Charles*, that wee shall humbly and faithfully obey King *Henry* in all things, which concerne the Crowne of *France*, and Common-wealth thereof, and after the decease of our now Sovereigne *Charles*, shall remaine faithfull leigemen to the said King *Henry* and his Successours for ever; neither shall we admit or allow of any other Lord, or supreme King of *France*; but *Henry* of *England* and his heires: neither shall we counsell or consent to any that may bee prejudiciall to the said King *Henry* or his Successours; or may bee damagefull to his life or limme, but shall with all speed give notice thereof, and endeavour to prevent it.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* oath.

The morrow after Trinitie Sunday, being the third of June, the Marriage with all befitting Ceremonies was solemnized, and the King of *England* named and proclaimed heire, and Regent of the Realme of *France*, of this accord; and the Articles subsequent, the French King sent Copies all over *France*, and King *Henry* the like into *England*, in these words.

Ann. 1410. Reg. 8. The Articles of agreement certified.

*Henry* by the grace of God, King of *England*, heire and Regent of *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to bee perpetually remembered of all Christians under our obeyfance, doe notifie and declare, that whereas there hath bin divers Treaties, betwixt our royall Father King *Charles*, for peace and quiet to bee established betwixt the Realmes of *France* and *England*, which have proved fruitlesse; considering the many detriments thereby fallen, not onely to those Realmes; but the disturbance of holy Church: we have now concluded with our said royall Father, for removing all distractions, and accorded that our said royall Father, and his ever to bee honoured Queene *Isabell*, shall be entituled the Father and Mother of us; and revered and respected in all things as such alliance shall require.

That the said King *Charles*, shall during life hold and enjoy, in peace and tranquillity, his royall Dignity, Crowne and Revenewes of all *France*; And that all Writs, Proccesse, and Commissions, and such like proceedings shall passe under his name and Seale as King; And that his Queene *Isabell* in case shee survive him, shall keepe her estate and Title, and all such rights and revenewes, as were formerly enjoyed by *Blanch* Queene Dowager to *Philip*, Grandfather to King *Charles*.

That Queene *Katherine* shall with all convenient speed bee sufficiently endowed in *England*, with twenty thousand Markes per annum.

That during the life of *Charles*, King *Henry* shall not assume the Title of King of *France*, and that the French King should write and intitle him; our thrice noble Sonne, Henry King of *England*, and heire of *France*.

That after the death of *Charles*, the Crowne of *France* shall really and entirely remaine to King *Henry* and his heires for ever.

That in regard of the inability of King *Charles*, by himselfe to rule, and manage the affaires of the Kingdome, King *Henry* shall be Regent and governe the same, as to him should seeme expedient for the Kings honour, and the commoditie of the Realme and Common-wealth.

That the estate of Parliament in *France* shall retaine, all accustomed priviledges, power, and authority.

That King *Henry* shall to his power, faithfully assist both Peeres and people, to regaine all such things, as did of right belong unto them, and shall protect all the preheminences, priviledges, and possessions of the Crowne of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall support the Subjects of *France*, against all foraine enemies, and labour the suppression of all intestine debates and civill warres, and endeavour the increase of the prosperity and peace of *France*, by impartially administering justice to all.

That King *Henry* in places of justice, and charge, shall place persons, generally taken for wise, faithfull, and fit to administer and manage those things unto them committed.

That King *Henry* shall speedily endeavour to reduce the *Dolphin*, and the Earle of *Arminack*, and all their confederates, to their due obedience to the Crowne of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall cause all persons, of what degree, condition, or quality soever, to take a corporall oath for their true obedience to *K. Charles* during life, and after his death to King *Henry* and his heires, and to admit no other King or Regent, nor conspire any thing against his, or their Persons or estates, but disclose all mischiefs plotted or intended, for his or their hurt or losse.

An.  
1420.  
R. 8.

That all possessions King *Henry* shall gaine from any Rebell to King *Charles* (except in *Normandy*) shall bee to the use and benefit of the French King: But upon voluntary taking the before-mentioned oathes to be tendred and taken, then to retaine their possessions freely.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and what else had beene conquered by King *Henry*, shall returne to the obedience of the Crowne of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall not over-burthen his Subjects of *France* with impositions, but in cases of urgent necessity, and then the same to bee assessed and levied, according to the custome and manner of *France*, and not otherwise.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the two Realmes of *France*, and *England*, shall Sovereignely be ruled but by one man, and not to admit two Kings, and that neither Crowne should bee subject to other, but each of them to retaine, and enjoy their perticular customes, priviledges, liberties, immunities, lawes, and preheminencies.

That diligent observation be used, to retaine both Nations in fraternall concord, and mutuall friendship, as brethren and friends.

That

That neither King shall conclude any peace, and make any truce with the *Dolphin*, except they and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, all three consent thereto.

That none shall be placed about the French Kings person, but Frenchmen such as he by his Councell shall make choice of, and shall reside wheresoever in the Kingdome at his pleasure.

And lastly, that both the Kings under their great Seales, and all their Peeres, Prelates, Comminalties, Gentry, and Corporations, under their usuall seales, shall ratifie and confirme the Articles of agreement, and shall all sweare to observe them, to their uttermost abilities and power.

These thus concluded, were proclaimed publikely, both in *England*, and *France*, the Kings with their Nobility present, being solemnly sworne to the observation of them.

This caused a solemne Procession, upon the fourteenth of *June* following in *London*, and a Sermon at *Pauls Crosse* being Friday, wherein the Preacher amongst other things, affirmed that for perpetuall manifestation of this so honourable an accord, that the old Seale was to bee broken, and a new great Seale to bee made, wherein the Kings Title as Regent of *France*, and heire apparant to the Crowne thereof, and three Flowre-de-luces, instead of fixe formerly borne in the Scutcheon of armes was to be ingraven,

There was likewise a private League contracted betweene King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, to this effect;

A League  
with the  
Duke of  
*Burgoyne*.

That the Duke to the uttermost of his best abilities, should endeavour the continuation of the former agreements, that one of the Dukes Sisters should bee matched to one of the Kings Brothers, that after the death of *Charles*, hee should doe fealty to the King of *England*; That King *Henry* should prosecute the murtherers of the Dukes Father, with all extremity; And that if any of them, or the *Dolphin* should in any place be taken, that they should not bee delivered without condigne punishment, without the consent of the two Kings, and the three estates of both Kingdomes.

That the Duke should have assurance of lands, for the annuall payment, of the fee of twenty thousand pounds *Paris*, to him and his Wife, and the heires males betwixt them to be begotten; And that King *Henry* upon the receiving his homage, should confirme the same.

This thus finished, King *Henry* invites the King and Queene of *France*, with the Duke and Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*, with all the Nobles of *France* there, to a stately banquet, the Ceremonies whereof ended, he made unto them so pithy and patheticall Oration, declaring therein the utility, of the union of the two Kingdomes, his right to them, on the surer side, with protestation of as true love, and affection to *France*, as if a native thereof, and promises of tender regard, to be alwayes by him extended towards them, with all filiall respect, and dutifull observance to his Father and Mother-in-law; and the true performance of all and every part of the agreement; And so perswading them to mutuall love, and friendship amongst themselves, and truth and loyalty to their Sovereigne; with an expression of detestation of the late murther of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and giving assurance of his desire to procure the revengement thereof be concluded.

Ann.  
1420.  
Reg. 8.

The next day following, *Lames* the young King of *Scots* arrived; And upon



The crea-  
tion of  
Garter,  
principall  
King of  
Armes,

upon the fourth day of Iune, King Henry with the French King, the King of Scots, the Duke of Burgoyne, the Prince of Orange, one and twenty Earles, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, with an Army consisting of French, English, Scottish, Irish, and Dutch, to the number of sixty six thousand, marched towards the Dolphin, and upon the seventh day layd siege to the Towne of Seins, that sided with the Dolphin, which after foure dayes siege yeelded, and thereof the Lord Bonville was made Captaine; From thence they removed, having the Duke of Bedford in their company, who had brought out of England, large supplies of men and money to Monsireau en false Ton, which was taken by Escalado, here the murdered Duke of Burgoyne being buried, from thence his Son caused his bones to be taken up, and carried to Digeon in high Burgoyne, and there entered by his Father Philip: The Castle held out; and during the siege thereof, King Henry Created an Officer of Armes, to bee king of Heralds over the English men, and entituled him Garter, whom hee had formerly sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captaine thereof reproachfully upbrayded, for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Mounseur Guirry the Castle Captaine, Twelve of his friends were executed; Whereupon the Castilions treated for peace, but the King in eight dayes together would not vouchsafe a parle, so that after they had borne the brunt of six weekes siege, they were enforced, with saving of lives, simply to yeeld. The Earle of Warwicke was appointed, to examine by poll all the prisoners, and others that yeelded, to find out any that had bin privy, or parties to the murder of the Duke of Burgoyne, and was afterward made Governour both of Castle and Towne. From thence the King marched to Melun upon Seine, which was besieged the thirteenth of July, the Captaine whereof was Barbason a Gascoyne, a skilfull souldier, and of approved valiancy, And as Hanniball in warre was not more ready to invent stratagems, then Quintus Fabius to prevent them, so King Henries counsell could not bee more wily to winne, then Barbason was warie to defend.

The King by land and water stopped all passages, making use of his before-mentioned floates, to passe his souldiers over the River; yet Barbason sallied out, and fell upon the Earle of Warwicks quarter, where if hee had not beene the more valiantly resisted, The Duke of Burgoynes men had tasted of their fury. The Duke of Bavier another of King Charles Son-in-law, (but his Dutchesse was dead) with seven hundred well-appointed Horse-men, came to the Campe, which were presently listed under the Kings pay. Barbason countermined some, and stopp other mines made by the English, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King Henry, yet notwithstanding all his circumspect care, and praise worthy diligence; when hee found hee was to fight against the two bitter arrowes of Gods wrath, Famine and Pestilence, hee humbled himselfe to the King, who pardoned all that were not guilty of the fore-named murder, whereof Barbason being suspected, and others that were found faulty, were sent to Paris under the conduct of the Duke of Clarence, whom King Charles made Captaine of Deleu that City, and was accordingly admitted into the possession of all the strength thereof; And presently thereupon both the Kings with their Queenes, the Duke of Burgoyne and his Dutchesse, with a royall traine came thither, where they were most magnificently

Ann.  
1420.  
Reg. 8.

cently entertained; the French King was lodged in the house of Saint Paul, and the King of England, in the Castle of Lover; Here the three States of France, anew under their hands and seale, in most authentick manner, ratified the former agreement, the instruments whereof were delivered to the King of England, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at Westminster.

Now King Henry began to exercise his Regency, and as a badge of his authority, hee caused a new coyn, which was called a Salute, to be made, whereon the armes of France and England were quarterly stamped; Hee there heard the appeale of the Dowager of Burgoyne; against the Dolphin, whose Advocates in his behalfe, made large offers for satisfaction, but they were adjourned to another day. He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of Exceter, with five hundred men, to the guard of Paris. Sir Gilbert Vmfrerevile was made Captaine of Melun, and the Earle of Huntington, of Bloyes de vines, King Henry awarded out Proccesse against the Dolphin, to appeare at the Marble table at Paris, which he not obeying, sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the murther of the Duke of Burgoyne, and by the sentence of the Parliament, the Dolphin was banished the Realme.

The King with his beloved Queene Katherine, the sixth of January, left Paris, and came to Roane, where he received homage of all the Nobility, aswell such as were enobled by descent of the French, as such as were dignified by desert of the English; and making Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant generall of France and Normandy, and his Deputy in Normandy; the Earle of Salisbury: having finished his Christmas, he with his Queene went to Amiens, and from thence to Callice, and thence landing at Dover, came to Canterbury, and after ward thorow London to Westminster, where the Queene upon Saint Mathewes day, the fourth of February, with all ceremonies, rites, and accustomed solemnities was Crowned: The King of Scots sitting at dinner in his Estate, but on his left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Kings Vncle the Bishop of Winchester being on his right hand, all were served with covered messes of silver, but all the Feast was fish, in observation of the Lent season.

King Henry, by his ghostly father being instructed, that the surest stone, that can belaid for the foundation of future felicity, must be digged out of the quarry of Piety, first visited many places for devotion, by way of Pilgrimage, and then tooke his progresse through the Land, and knowing that great evils may grow out of the smallest causes, if neglected, hee by the way reformed all misdemeanours, whereof he received notice, hearing with a diligent eare, the complaints of his poore subjects, taking order for the adminstring of justice, to high and poore, neither sparing the great for might, nor the meane for misery: And shewing that examples are the best Lectures, and vertue the best example; after he had set his Ministers a Copy thereof; he gave meeting to the Queene at Leicester, where they kept their Easter.

In the meantime, the Duke of Clarence making a road into Aniou, with the garrisons of Normandy, came to the City of Angers, where hee Knighted Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowland Vider, Sir Thomas Bedford, his naturall Son, And returning home laden with prey, was advertised, that the Duke of Alanson, intended to intercept his passage, he therefore sent the skowt-master, Andrew Fogosa, to discover the face of the ene-

The ratification of the agreement, layd up in the Treasury at Westminster.

Ann.  
1421.  
Reg. 9.

Queene  
Katherine  
Crowned.

Kings Hen-  
ries Piety.

An.  
1421.  
R. 9.

The Duke  
of Clarence  
betrayed.

Robert Vm-  
phreyville  
here slain,  
was both  
Earle of  
Angus and  
Kyme.

1421.

A Parlia-  
ment at  
Westminster.

King Hen-  
ry returns  
to France.

An.  
1421.  
R. 9.

Dreux be-  
sieged.

enemy who being a trecherous Lombard, and having bin corrupted by the enemy, at his returne reporteth their number to be but small, meanly armed, and worse ordered; so that if presently charged, there could bee no resistance. The Dukes credulity, causeth him to draw all his horses together; leaving the strength of the field, his Bowes and Bills behind, with them he makes towards the enemy; the traytour leading to a straight, where by his appointment an ambush was layed, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, which perceiving, the Duke with a valiant courage, told the Earle of *Tanckerville*, that their chance was very hard, when no meanes was left, but to sell their lives at the dearest rate to their enemies, and so setting spurs to his horse, charged upon the enemy: but over-layd with multitude, and over-wearied with fight: The Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Tanckerville*, the Lord *Rosse*, the Earle of *Angus Kyme*, Sir *John Lumley*, and Sir *John Ferend*, with above two thousand English were slain: The Earles of *Somerset*, *Suffolke*, and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berckley*, Sir *Ralph Nevile*, Sir *William Bowes*, and threescore Gentlemen were taken prisoners. The bastard *Clarence* having an inkling of the *Lombards* treachery, brought on his Archers, whom the French perceiving to approach, fled with their prisoners, leaving the dead undispoiled, by which meanes the Lord *Fitz-water*, and some others were found wounded, and almost stifled amongst the carkasses; The bodies of the dead were by the foot-men buried, except the Duke of *Clarence*, who by Sir *John Beauford*, his base son, the Duke dying without other issue, was conveyed to *England*, and buried at *Canterbury*, by his father. This happened upon Ester eve.

The King was at *Beverly*, when he had notice of his brothers death; and presently thereupon, he dispatched away. *Edmond* Earle of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof. Then calls he his high Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, wherein he enforced the necessity of speedy pursuance, of the *Dolphin* and his Adherents, and easinesse of revenging the losse of his brother, and their friends and allyes; in case they would furnish him with money, men, and amunition, being in readinesse provided; whereupon the Clergy cheerefully granted two tenths, and the temporality readily one fiftene; and for that the Kings haste could not well stay the wonted course of collection thereof, by Parliamentary way.

The Bishop of *Wencheſter*, layed forth to be received againe of the dimes of the spirituality, twenty thousand pounds; so willing was the rich Cardinall to have his brother *Clarence* death revenged.

The King thus provided with money, sent his brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Army to *Callice*, consisting of foure thousand men at armes, and foure and twenty thousand Archers, himselfe about the middle of May followeth, and safely arriving at *Callice*; he hastened to relieve *Charters*, whom the *Dolphin* with seven thousand men had besieged, and comming to *Maunt*, heard that the *Dolphin* was retired to *Tours*. The Duke of *Burgoine*, who had received, and feasted the King, with his Father and Mother-in-law at *Monstruell*, and from thence came with the King to *Maunt*, went backe to *Piccardy*, to resist the insolencies of Sir *Iaqués de Harcounſts*.

The King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Gloſter*, about the eight of July, besieged *Dreux*, which upon the eight of August compounded; That if they were reſcued, before the twentieth of that moneth, to deliver up the Towne, the souldiers with their goods, to march whither they would, upon



upon which day no reskue came, they had all leave to depart, except one *Searlan* Englishman, fled thither for Treason out of *Roan*, whom they presently executed, and the Towne was delivered to the King of *Scots*, whereof the Earle of *Worcester* was made Captaine, and Sir *Henry Mortimer* Bayliffe. The King pursued the *Dolphin* from place to place, but hee was too flit of foot, to be easily overtaken; In the way King *Henry* surprized the Towne of *Baugency*, but tooke them all to mercy that craved it; the like he did at *Rugemounte*, from thence victuall failing, he went to *Orleans*, and from thence to *Vignei Saint Ton*, where he stayed a while to refresh his men, and from thence to *Paris*, and having there fitted himselfe with supplies, he went and sate downe before *Meuix* in *Brye*, a Towne no lesse well victualled then manned, and no better furnished then fortified, neverthelesse, after many assaults, the besieged forsooke the walls, and drew into the Market-place, where they began workes for their defence, from whence being likewise beaten, the King had possession of that, and all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Lonvaux*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*.

The Duke of *Bedford* in the Kings absence, called a Parliament in *England*, in which was granted to the King, towards the maintenance of his warres, one Fifteene to be payed in such monies, as at the time of the grant were current.

Vpon Saint *Nicholas* day, *Queene Katherine* was brought to bed of a sonne at *Windsor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countesse of *Holland*, Christened by the name of *Henry*, whereof when the King had notice, out of a propheticke disposition, he said, Good Lord, I *Henry* borne at *Monmouth*, shall small time raigne, and much get; and *Henry* borne at *Windsor*, shall long raigne and lose all, but Gods will be done.

Divers Frenchmen under the leading of *Oliver de Many*, who had given faith never to beare armes against the King of *England*, entred *Normandy*, and did rob and spoyle the Country; But being by the Earle of *Suffolke* encountred, he was after a long & desperate fight taken, and all his Confederates rowted; the King notwithstanding his breach of faith, put him not to death, but sent him prisoner to *England*, where he dyed.

The *Dolphin* layed siege to *Cosney*, who made composition, that if they were not reskued by the King of *England*, within ten dayes to surrender. The King was so intentive to the reskue, that he over-heat himselfe with travell, and comming to *senlis*, found himselfe so distempered, that hee was enforced to remaine there, and send his brother Duke of *Bedford*, to prosecute the designe, who effected the same: The *Dolphin* upon his approach, raised the siege, and dishonourably retired into *Berry*, whereof in mockage he was after called King of *Berry*, the *Queenes* untimely visit, who not long before having taken shipping at *Southampton*, with a gallant Company of fresh-men raised, and furnished at her owne charge, under the conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*, was come into *France*, whose comming did much increase the Kings Fever, insomuch that by the perswasion of the Doctors, and direction of the Kings Councell against her owne will, and the Kings desire, whose ardent affection unto her could hardly brooke her absence, she left the King, who after her departure, growing worse and worse, was removed to *Bloys*, where within few dayes he yeelded up his conquests, to the all-Conquerour, who sent him

Ann.  
1422.  
R. 9.

1422.  
A Parliament in the Kings absence called.  
The birth of Henry the sixth.

The *Dolphin* besieged *Cosney*.

King Henry dyeth.

Crowned

The Duke  
of Bedford,  
made Gen-  
erall of  
Normandy.  
The  
Duke of  
Glocester  
Protector.

Crowned with never-dying victory to the place of ever-living glory. Somewhat before his departure out of this world, he made the Duke of Bedford, Lieutenant generall of Normandy, and Regent of the Kingdome of France; and the Duke of Glocester, Protector of England, and his sonnes person, exhorting all to be true and friendly to the Duke of Burgoyne, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyall to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queene, to hold and preserve, what he by his valour and Gods assistance had wonne, never to conclude contract of amity with the Dolphin, or the Duke of Alanson, untill they had submitted themselves to the Kings grace, and so giving God thanks for all his former favours, and blessings bestowed upon him: he dyed the last of August, 1422. in the eight and thirtieth yeere of his age, when he had raigned nine yeeres, five moneths, and foure and twenty dayes; his body was carried to Westminster, and there buried amongst his Ancestours, his character appeareth best when it is referred to his recollection of himselfe; for as he was in youth the most untowardly, so in his riper yeeres he approved himselfe of great noblenesse and vertue: his stature wastall, his personage slender, but very strong and active: he was faith *Walsingham*, *modestus vultu*, *assu magnanimus*, of courage invincible, and fortunately victorious in all his battells, never receiving checke in any; of nature liberall, of disposition affable, of a generous spirit, of indefatigable constancy; he was wise and provident in Counsell, in judgement upright and just, in his speech sober, in countenance majesticke, in comportment magnanimous, borne and bred for conquest, of life unprovable, and in his death generally greatly lamented; in brieft, his deeds gave cause of admiration to contemporaries, and imitation to others, as having spirit to dare, and a power to doe bravely: he was married to Katherine, Daughter of Charles the sixt King of France, whose company shee enjoyed but two yeeres and three moneths, by whom he had issue onely Henry, that succeeded him in the Crowne, her affections after tyed her to Owen Theodor, a Gentleman of no extraordinary linage, but absolute for the lineaments of his body, by whom shee had issue three sons, Edmond, Jasper, and Owen: Edmond was after Earle of Richmond, and married Margaret, daughter and sole heire of John Duke of Somerset, Grand-child to John of Gaunt (by his son John) and by her had issue Henry Earle of Richmond, afterward King of England, by the name of Henry the seventh. This Margaret by the approvement or command of her son, made orders, yet extant, for great estates of Noble women and Ladyes, for precedency and attire, which orders at this day are greatly abused by meane persons to the wrong and dishonour of true deservers, 2. Jasper was Earle of Pembroke, and Duke of Bedford.



# THE LIFE AND REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH.



**H**ENRY the sixth, borne at *Windsor*, an infant of nine moneths old, began his Reigne the last of August, Anno Dom. 1422. The government of the Realmes pre-appointed by the Father on his death-bed, and after confirmed by the Nobilitie, was committed to *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*. The guard of his person, to *Thomas Duke of Excester*, and *Henry Benford*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *John Duke of Bedford*, was appointed the Regency of *France*. This triple twine, untill the time unhappily untwisted, kept the wheelles in orderly motion, that guided the Clock of good government in this Realme; so that there was in the beginning of their proceeding, no disproportion or disagreement betwixt them, but all things were continued advisedly and well. The Protectors knowing that it is treachery to wisdom in managing great affaires, not to bee directed by the clew of advise, made choise of grave and discreet Councillors; by whose approvement he made provision of all things necessary, as well for quiet governing the English, as for retaining the conquered parts of *France* in obedience, and further conquest of such as yet were refractary: leaving nothing undone, that might conduce to the honour and happinesse of the estate of the young King and the Realme.

The Regent of *France* was not backward on his part, but endeavoured all that was possible, to second the Protectors care: But the death of *Charles* the sixth, and the proclaiming the *Dolphin* King of *France*, by the name of *Charles* the seventh, gave the Regent just cause to suspect the regeneration of the French. Whereupon he encreaseth the Garrisons, and sufficiently furnisheth all places of import, with men and ammunition, exhorting the *Normans*, to continue constant, according to their fealtie made to the King of *England*: On the other side, the new King of *France* makes provision in all places, to draw his forces together: And in the meane time, sends the Lord *Granville* to *Port Melan*, who surpriseth the same, putting all the English souldiers to the sword; for revenge whereof, and the recovery of the Towne, the Regent sent the ever to be commended Commander, *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, with convenient forces thither, who

M

for

An.  
1422.  
R. 1.

The Dol-  
phin pro-  
claimed  
King.

Port Me-  
lan surpris-  
ed by the  
French.

Reduced  
by the  
Earle of  
Salisbury.



An.  
1422.  
R.3.

for the space of two moneths, so straightly beleagred the same, that the Lord *Granville* surrendred the same, and sware (but falsly) to be a true man to the King of England: Hereof was Sir *Henry Mortimer* made Captaine, and Sir *Richard Vernon* of the Castle. From thence hee marched to *Seyne*, which hee took by assault, and put all the souldiers (except the Captaine Sir *William Maryn*) to the sword, and thereof made Captaines, Sir *Hugh Gooding*, and Sir *Richard Aubemond*, the first of the Towne, the other of the Castle.

The league  
renewed  
with Bur-  
goyne.

A conspir-  
acy at  
Paris.

Preven-  
ted and  
punished.

The Regent, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and John Duke of *Britain*, meet at *Amiens*, and renewed the old league, and further enlarged it; to bee defensive and offensive respectively: And knowing that affinitie for the most part, is the truest entertainer of friendship, and an unquestionable obligation of amity; the Regent afterward marrieth *Anne*, the Sister of *Burgoyne*, at *Troys*: In the meane time the *Parisians* conspired, to have let in the new King into *Paris*, but the day before the night appointed for his admission; the Duke with his power entred, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick execution; which done, hee furnished all the Forts, and places of strength with Englishmen, sent Sir *John Falstaffe*, who took in *Pacy*, and *Coursay*, two strong Castles, whilst hee with his forces took in *Traynells* and *Bray* upon *Seyne*.

The French  
defeated.

The Constable the while, with all the new Kings forces, layed siege to *Cravant* in *Burgoyne*. But the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, sent their forces under the conduct of the never-sufficiently to be praysed Earle of *Salisbury*, who having with great difficultie, and small losse passed the river of *Tone*, seconded by the *Burgonians*, set upon the French, and after a long and doubtfull fight, put the French to flight; slaying about eighteen hundred Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common souldiers, Scottish and French; there were taken Prisoners, the Constable of *France*, who had lost an eye in the fight, the Earle of *Ventadour*, Sir *Alexander Merdyn*, Sir *Lewis Ferigny*, and two and twentie hundred Gentlemen: Of the English part were slaine, Sir *John Gray*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halsall*, one of the Marshalls of the field, *Richard ap Maddock*, and one and twentie hundred souldiers, one with another.

From hence the Earle led his forces to *Montaguillon*, and fate downe before it, and after five moneths siege took it, whilst the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two strong Castles of *Coucy*, and *le Roch*.

The Protector in the meane time, ransomed and enlarged the young King of *Scots* (who for many yeeres had bene prisoner) taking Homage and Fealtrie of him, for the Crowne of *Scotland*; the tenour whereof is thus recorded, I *James Steward* King of *Scots*, shall bee true and faithfull unto you Lord *Henry*, by the grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, the Noble and Superiour Lord of *Scotland*; and to you I make my fidelitie, for the said kingdome, which I hold and claime of you: And I shall beare you my faith, and fidelitie of life and limme, and worldly honour, against all men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge, and shall doe you service due for the Kingdome of *Scotland* afore-said; so God mee help and these holy Evangelists: And after with consent of all the Nobilitie, gave him to wife the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the deceased Duke of *Somerset*, and Cousin german to the King, with a large Dowrie, besides many great and rich gifts bestowed by the Mother, Uncles, and other her kindred; but no courtesie

The King  
of Scots  
marrieth  
the Duke  
of Somers-  
sets daugh-  
ter.

courtesie or bounty could keep him from proving unfaithfull and unthankfull. The Protector with his accustomed provident circumspection to prevent dangers, that want of supplies might bring to the Army, sent over to the Regent ten thousand well-furnished souldiers, with all things whereof hee might stand in need; with which fresh succours, he won and valiantly conquered many Townes, Castles, and places of strength; whose power the French-men not able to withstand, began to fasten the foxes taile to the Lyons skin, and what they could not by courage compasse, they attempted by craftie subtilty to accomplish: first they work upon the inconstancy of the Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the fifth created Earle of *Ivry*; these two, by gifts and promises, things that blind the eyes of the treasonally minded wise, they suborned perfidiously to deliver over into their possession the Castle of *Crotoy* and *Ivry*, and what the English had won by true man-hood and valour, they stole away with craft and treachery, but little to their praise or profit; for the English before the garrisons were settled, fell upon *Crotoy*, and took the prey out of the Leopards jaws, and like unkind hosts made them pay too deere a price for their lodgings; *Crotoy* thus regained, the Regent straightly begirts *Ivry*, and by secret mining, sice assaults, and violent batteries, so shook the walls, that composition was made to yeeld it up, if not relieved by a certaine time: The Regent was throughly resolved to set up his rest, and to abide battrell what forces soever should appeare, and thereof permitted the besieged to send notice to the French King: The Duke of *Alanson* thereupon with sixteen thousand French approached; but when he perceived the English were ready prepared to receive him, according to the French fashion, at that time to bragge much and doe little, he wheeled about to *Vernoil*, whereas perjury is the concomitant of every other sin, he joynd it to his cowardise, swearing to the Towns-men, that he had put the Regent to flight, and had beaten him out of the field, and rescued *Ivry*; by his false report, hee got *Vernoil*, whilst the Regent had *Ivry* surrendred unto him; which being strengthened and furnished, hee followed the cowards to their cunny-borough at *Vernoil*; who by the encouragement of some fresh companies of *Scots* come unto their succour, came to a battell in the field, where the English with the losse of two thousand one hundred common souldiers, and two of the Nobilitie, Lord *Dudley* and Lord *Charleton*, got the glory of the day, and slew of their enemies, five Earles, two Vicounts, and twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French; besides two thousand seven hundred *Scots* lately arrived: The Duke of *Alanson* himselfe with the Bastard of *Alanson*, the Lord of *Hormyt*, and divers other French, and Sir *John Turnbull*, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common souldiers, were taken prisoners. This battell was strook the twenty eight day of August; *Vernoil* hereupon without battery or assault, upon promise of safetie of life onely, was delivered; and thereof Sir *Phillip Hall* made Captain, and sufficient garrison left him: from thence the Armie marched to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris*, both which places were at strife which should exceed other in freedome, of welcome and loving entertainment to the Regent.

This overthrow so weakned the new King, that hee was enforced to quit the Countrey, and went to *Poyteers*, where hee established his high Court of Parliament, and laboureth his own establishment. The valiant Earle of *Salisbury* with ten thousand men, taketh in the strong Towne of *Maunts*, the

An.  
1427.  
R.6.

*Crotoy* lost  
and recovered.

The English are  
victorious  
at *Vernoil*.

1424.  
The reduction  
of  
*Vernoil*.

Ann.  
1424.  
R.3.

The French  
frighted  
with the  
name of  
Salisbury.

the towne of Saint Susan, le fort Saint Bernard, and others; from thence hee went into *Anjou*, where hee performed such heroick acts, that his very name grew terrible in all *France*; for instance, The new high Constable, perfidious *Richmond*, in hope to doe somewhat to advance the reputation of his new Office, with fourty thousand men, layeth siege to the good towne of Saint James in *Beuion*; the garrison whereof, consisted but of six hundred English, who being droven to some extremitie, bravely (I might say desperately) at one time sallied forth, crying Saint George, a *Salisbury*; the French men fearing that they had some token given, that *Salisbury* was come to the rescue, or that he was behind in the Towne with more forces; were so suddenly affrighted, that the craven cowards, casting away their weapons, ran all away, saving some few that yeelded themselves prisoners; leaving all their tents, fourteene Peeces of Ordnance, fourty barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of wine, two hundred Pipes of Bisket and flower, two hundred pieces of Raisins and Figges, five hundred barrels of Herrings, much Armour, and some Treasure.

At this time Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falstaffe*, with two thousand men, entred into *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and tooke the Castles of *Beaumont*, *Vicount*, *Teune*, *Silly*, *Ofse*, *Courcieriers*, *Ronsey*, *Vasike*, *Covetenement*, and very many others; so that it appeareth, at that time, it was, but for the English to aske and have, so pittifully were the French cowed with the Regents prosperitie.

The French were come to their old course of fraud, and had compounded with a *Gascoyne* Captaine there, for the delivery of *Alanson* to the enemy; notice being given hereof, the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *John Falstaffe*, with two thousand men, were sent to spoyle the Market, who encountering with the chiefe Merchant *Charles de Villiers*; who with two hundred horse, and three hundred foot, were come to the place appointed for their entry; took and slew them all, except some few horse, which saved themselves by flying away. The Lord *Willoughby*, with his troopes, returned to the Earle of *Salisbury*, who victoriously proceeded, taking in and demolishing, above forty Castles and strong Piles; the newes thereof in *England* caused publick Processions, and generall thanksgiving to God, in *London* and other places. Neverthelesse, an unkind variance, and a jarre betwixt the Protector and the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor arising, endangered the quiet of the Common-wealth, for the appeasing whereof the Regent having substituted, the Earle of *Warwick* Lieutenant generall in his absence, came into *England*, where a Parliament being convoked, he therein discreetly arbitrated, and compounded all differences betwixt the Protector and *Winchester*, and to the comfort of the Councell, and content of all, stiated the quarrell. In honour whereof the King of *England* kept a solemne feast, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, who invested with that dignitie many of his servants, and created *Richard*, Sonne of *Richard* late Earle of *Cambridge*, Duke of *York*; and restored *John Mombrey* to the Dutchy of *Norfolk*.

A jarre  
betwixt  
the bro-  
thers in  
*England*  
drawes  
the Re-  
gent in-  
to *Eng-  
land*.

The yong  
K. knigh-  
ted.

In the meane time the Earle of *Warwick* conquered many strong pieces in *Mayne*, and made preparation to fight a set battell, whereunto he was challenged by the French; but they said never the sooner for a hasty word, their hearts were in their heels, and in stead of comming on to fight, they took their flight another way, a day before the prefixed time of battell.

All things peaceable settled in *England*, the Regent with the Bishop of *Winchester*



*Winchester* returned into *France*, where at the intercession of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Duke of *Alanson* was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crownes. The Bishop of *Winchester* returned to *Callice*, where hee was invested with the Hat, habit and dignitie of a Cardinall, I dare not think because hee was a Clergie man, that hee ambitiously affected, or otherwise contracted for that place: but the advantage of a Bull from the Pope, was a meanes for him, in short time to gather a great masse of money, so that many wondred at his wealth, but few approved his proceedings.

Whilst thus in *France*, the English prosperously aided by the 'Almightie power, in a good quarrell every where prevailed, *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, who inveigled (by the enticing behaviour of an unconstant woman) had married more for lust (which alwayes hunts after new pleasures) than for love, which is contented with due delights, *Iaqueline* of *Bavie* Countesse of *Henalt*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, who had formerly beene coupled in Matrimony to *John* Duke of *Brabant* yet living (with whom shee had lived as man and wife ten moneths) with his said Lady, crost the Seas to *Bergen Hennalt*, and tooke in her right the homage of the Countrey, which not a little disquieted her former Husband, and much displeased his brother the Duke of *Burgoyne*, insomuch that the Duke of *Burgoyne* relying of his familiaritie with the English, and their respect to Honour, wrote a kind Letter unto the Duke, wherein hee intimated, how he was abused by his said Lady, and how great a dis-repute, hee would cast upon his actions, if upon notice of her husbands the Duke of *Brabants* claime, both to her and her possessions, hee did not freely relinquish both unto him; withall admonishing him with the danger, of holding another mans wife, and usurping her first husbands rights and titles.

But the Duke of *Burgoyne* perceiving that hee sowed but in the sands, whilst hee wrote in that kind, sends him a Challenge, on part of the Duke of *Britaine*, to fight with him body to body, according to the law of armes; but *Glocesters* hot affection being by this time somewhat slackted, and remembering himselfe, how much his honour by these courses was blemished, he did neither accept, nor deny the Challenge; but only craved time to returne into *England*, to dispose of his estate, and then he would give him requirable satisfaction: In the meane time, the incendiary of these turmoyles is betrayed by the *Montists* to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*, from whence shee escaped into *Holland*, where shee made a defensive warre against her Husband, and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who both laid hard unto her Territories.

But Pope *Martin*, having pronounced the contract of Matrimonie with *Glocester*, utterly unlawfull; made the Dukes the more earnest in the prosecution against the Lady: In the meane time the Duke of *Glocester*, though he declined his affection, not willing the world should thinke hee deserted her altogether, sent the Lord *Fitz-walter* to her ayde, with a power of Englishmen, who joyning with the *Durcheffe* forces about *Brewers Haven* neere *Zerix*, was encountered by the Duke of *Brabant*, who gave them a great overthrow (the fowlenesse of the cause, and the unjustnesse of the quarrell, having blunted the wonted resolution of the English) the newes of that overthrow, and of the Popes sentence comming together to the Duke of *Glocester*, eares, to comfort himself against the one, and to free himself from the other, he gave his old wife a discharge, and forsaking *Iaqueline*, takes for a second, *Eliano* daughter of Lord *Cobham* of *Styeborough* his old Mistrisse.

Ann.

1424.

R.3.

The Regent returns to France.

Burgoyne by letters dissuades Glocester from his new wife.

An.  
1424.  
R.3.

The name  
of Salisbury  
a bug-  
bear to  
the French

The Constable of *France*, with forty thousand men, besieged the Towne of *S. James de Benuron*, and having planted his battery, made a breach, as they deemed, assaultable; which whilst the French were straining courtscie, who should first enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, with all his forces (leaving the Towns-men to receive the assailants) sallies forth, both they within and those without, crying aloud, a *Salisbury*, a *Suffolke*; the names whercof stroke such a terrou amongst the besiegers, that they either disorderly ran away, or stood like men amazd, till their throats were cut, of which sixe hundred were flaine, two hundred drowned in the ditches; fifty taken prisoners, and eightene Standards were taken, with one Banner; The Constable was glad to quit the place with great losse, and retired to *Fougers*.

1426.

Ponterson  
taken by  
the Eng-  
lish.

The Earle of *Warwick* and the Lord *Scales* with seven thousand men besieged *Ponterson*, many weekes together; in which time all provision grew very scantie; insomuch, that the Lord *Scales* for the reliefe of their so pressing necessities, with three thousand men foraged a great way into the enemies country, and in his returne with plenty of provision, was encountered with six thousand French, but he slew many hundreds of them, and tooke a thousand and odde prisoners, and so came in safetie to the Camp. The enemy had raised a great power, to raise the siege, but by the way they fell upon the Castle of *Ramfort* (which the Garrison of *Susan* had a little before surpris'd) and there they stayed untill *Ponterson* was yeilded, and well furnished, and fortified by the Earle of *Warwick*, who was returned to the Regent.

Mounts re-  
taken.

A conspiracie of the Clergie, and Magistrates in *Mounts* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France*, with five hundred men, about mid-night came to the Towne wals, where the guard of English, by those that seemed their friends, and of one company, were suddenly massacred, and setting open the gates, gave way to the enemy to enter; upon the alarum given, the Earle of *Suffolk* with the surviving English (according to directions formerly given, in case any treachery should be plotted) withdrew to the Castle, where in they were sharply assailed by the French; who perceiving no good to be done upon them by assault, knowing how ill they were provided for necessities for a siege; carelessly neglected them, falling to ransacking houses, and making good cheere; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Capitaine *Gosse*, whom the Lord *Talbot* (who from *Alanson* was by night marches with some forces, come within two miles of *Mounts*) had sent to discover the state of the French; he secretly gave notice to the Earle of *Suffolk*, who at the houre appointed, sallied forth of the Castle; at what time the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his troops; and on both sides crying; Saint *George* a *Talbot*; they fell upon the careless French, who lost foure hundred of their best men, the residue were all taken, the Towne regained; and the conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fiftene Fryers, found out, condemned, and executed.

1427.

Now the triple cord began to be untwisted, and one of the great supporters of the young Kings weaknesse, the right noble *Thomas Beuford* (sonne of *John of Gaunt*, and *Katherine Swynford*) Duke of *Exceter*, Protector of the King, makes King *Henry* his heire; and at *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, takes leave of this mortall life: This *Thomas* Duke of *Exceter* married *Margaret* the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Nevill* of *Hornby* Castle, but had no issue by her. To supply his roome, as Tutor to the King, was the Earle of *Warwick* appointed, whose place in *France* was supplied by the Earle of *Salisbury*,

Salisbury, the terrour of the French, who with five thousand men came to Orleance, and for an entrance to his imployment, with one thousand old souldiers, joyned with the new, he besieged the Citie. The Bastard Orleance had by the space of five miles round, spoyled whatsoever might help or advantage the English; he himselfe undertaking the defence of the great Fort, built upon the East-bridge; from whence making a French bravado, in shew more than a man at first, he retired weaker indeed than a woman, with losse of many his souldiers, to the Towne, leaving the English in possession of the Fort. From an high Tower in this Bulwarke, out of a window therein, the besiegers observed the passages of the Townesmen; about two moneths after the siege began, the noble Duke of Salisbury, thinking to informe himselfe of the state of the Towne, unhappily looking out of this Window, with Sir Thomas Gargrave, a great shot from the Towne, striking the barres of the Window, the splinters whereof were driven into his head and face, of which wound, within eight dayes after, he dyed. He married *Eliaenor*, Daughter of *Thomas Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, by whom he had issue, onely *Anne*, married to *Richard Nevill*, one of the younger sonnes of *Ralph Nevill*, Earle of *Westmerland*, he had a base sonne named *John*. This Earles death was a second weakening of the young Kings expected triumphes; for two limmes of his budding tree, of carefull protection and thriving direction, are lopt off by death, and a third began to be putrified. The Earle of *Suffolk* succeedeth in the charge of the siege, who finding necessaries wanting, sendeth Sir *John Falstaffe* for supplyes; the Regent furnisbeth him speedily, and in his returne the Lord *de la Breta*, nine thousand strong, endeavours to intercept him, but being discovered, Sir *John* resolved to abide the charge, placeth his carriages behind, the horse next, and the foot before, lynning his Bowes with Bill-men, pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having loosed their first volley, retired behind the stakes, on which the French forgetting their former defeats that way, ran and gored their horses, and were forced to light against their wills; with a knock on the crowne with a brown Bill, laid on with a strong arme, by which their Vanguard being disordered, the battaile made a stand, which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, *Saint George*, they flie; which was no sooner spoken than it proved true, for therewith they fled, and in the fight and chase, the French lost two thousand five hundred men, with the Lords, *de la Breta*, and *William Steward*, and eleven hundred were taken prisoners; with whom, and a rich booty, they came to the Camp before Orleance. Hereof the besieged having notice, hopelesse of help from the French King, they offered to submit themselves to the protection of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who was contented to accept them, upon the Regents consent.

This motion pleased many of the Councill of warre, but the Generall, and the rest more considerate, did mislike it. Whereupon the Generall returned this answer, That since the King his Master had bestowed so long time, and exhausted so much Treasure, and spent so much victuals, besides the uncomparable losse of the Earle of *Salisbury*, slaine there; he could not but think it would much redound to his own dishonour, and the disparagement of the renowne of the Kingdome of *England*; If now the besieged were driven to that extremity, that they were not able to subsist of themselves; that any other than those that had beaten the bush, should have the birds. Then made the besieged meanes to the Duke of *Alanson*, who used such diligence, that taking advantage of too much slacknesse of watch in the

An.  
1427.  
R.6.

Salisbury  
untimely  
slaine.

The poli-  
cy of the  
French.

Camp,



Ann.

1427.

R. 6.

The death  
of Salisbu-  
ry, the  
downfall  
of the  
English  
good for-  
tune.  
Both wind  
and Sun  
againſt the  
English.

The  
French e-  
verywhere  
revolt.

The Re-  
gent de-  
ſires the  
French  
King.

Camp, being ſecured (as they thought) from danger of falling from within, or approach of enemy from without, he furniſhed the Towne both with freſh proviſion and forces, under the coverture of a dark and moſt tempeſtuous night, which put ſuch freſh ſpirit into the Citizens, that they made a brave fall out, and by fine force carried the Bulwarke upon the Bridge, and another Fort, and ſlew ſix hundred Engliſh, and adventured upon the Baſtile, in which the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who not being uſed to be coopt up, valiantly iſſued out, and bravely repulſed them back, with great ſlaughter and confuſion, into the Towne. But the next day, the Earle of *Suffolke* left the ſiege, and diſperſed his Army to their ſeverall places of gariſon; and in his returne, the Lord *Talbot* ſurprized the Towne and Caſtle of *Lavall*. But now the wheele of fortune began to turne, and diſaſters and diſgraces fell huddling one upon the neck of another on the Engliſh part.

And firſt the Duke of *Alaſon*, having raiſed a great power, took by aſſault the Towne of *Iargeux*, and therein the Earle of *Suffolk*, and one of his brothers, and ſlew Sir *Alexander Pole*, another of their brothers, and many other priſoners in cold blood, becauſe of the contention among the French, to whom the priſoners did belong: Then the Lords, *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, with five thouſand men, going to fortifie the Towne of *Meum*, were encountred by the ſaid Duke, and *Arthur of Britaine*, and three and twenty thouſand men, who fiercely aſſayed them. The Engliſh Lords for a time endured the ſhock, and enterchanged ſome blows, but oppreſſed with multitude, the three Lords are taken priſoners, all ſore wounded, twelve hundred of their company ſlaine, the reſidue hardly eſcaping to *Meum*: where they uſed their beſt forces, to fortifie themſelves againſt future aſſaults. Theſe diſaſters were ſeconded by the perfidious ſurrender of many Townes and ſtrong holds to the French King; who now encouraged by theſe good ſucceſſes, marched into *Champaigne*, where by Compoſition he tooke the chiefe Citie thereof, *Troyes*, *Chalons* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captaine to yeeld it up; by whoſe example the Citizens of *Reme* doe the like; wherein the French King is a new Proclaimed, and there with accuſtomed Ceremonies annointed and crowned, and is thereby furthered with the voluntary ſubmiſſion of many Townes, Caſtles, ſtrong holds: who from every part ſent their ſubjective meſſages unto him.

The Duke of *Bedford*, with ten thouſand Engliſh, beſides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, ſending Letters of defiance to the French King, affirming therein, that he contrary to the accord, betwixt King *Henry* the fifth, and King *Charles*, Father to him that was but an uſurper, by the inſtigation of a feminine devill, had taken upon him the Title and dignitie of King of *France*, and by deceitfull and unjuſt meanes, had ſurreptitiouſly ſtolne (not conquered) and kept divers Cities and places of import, belonging to the Crowne of *England*; for legall proove whereof, by ſtroke of battaile he was come into that part, and thereby would juſtifie his Chartell true, and cauſe juſt, leaving allowance to his enemy to make choice of the place, and in the ſame he ſhould be ſure of battaile.

The new King, howſoever perplexed, ſet a good countenance on the matter, and told the Herald, that he would ſooner ſeek his Maſter, than his Maſter ſhould need to ſeek him, and without further answer diſmiſſed him. The Regent thereupon maketh towards him, and making choice of an indifferent place, encampeth in ſight of the French: And though the King made ſhew of readineſſe to fight, yet he turned faces to the left hand and marched away.

away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came neere *Senlis*, where the King was encamped. The Armies on both sides were embattailed, and kept in array, as long as it was light, and so againe the next day the Dukes light horsemen, and the *Normans*, made many attempts, and provoked some skirmishes, as it were to give the French a taste of their resolution; but the King not willing further to provoke such forward Cavaliers, in the dead of the night wheeled about and fled to *Bray*. The Duke forecasting that this was but a plot to draw him further from *Paris*, of whose fidelitie, he had no great assurance, followed no further, but with great griefe to the souldiers returned thither. Whilst he lay there, he received intelligence, That his brother the Cardinall, was with some forces at *Dover* (in prosecution of some pact formerly made betwixt Pope *Maryn* and him) ready to transport them into *Boheme*, to arbitrate a point of Religion by the sword; he thereupon writes to him, and to his brother of *Glocester*, thereby intimating to them the wants he had of present supply, with such forcible reasons perswading, that he prevailed, and the Cardinall with his forces (rayed to another place and purpose) came to the Regent to *Paris*: The Regent now the stronger by these new forces, having intelligence, that the King of *France* was marched into *Champaigne*, followeth him, and finding him encamped upon the Mount *Pihal*, betweene *Senlis* and *Champaigne*, he pitched in sight of them, and hourly provoked him to come downe, by the *Norman* horse, who braved him to his trenches, beating back such as came forth to skirmish, without need of seconds; when thus in sight of each other they had laine for a time, the Regent expecting to be charged, they having double the advantage of the number; the French follow their last copy, and silently retired to *Crispis*. The Regent perceiving their irresolution to fight, licenced the Cardinall to goe his pretended journey with his forces, whilst he and his marched back to *Paris*; of whose constancy, he was, and not without cause, ever warily jealous, yet gave them no cause of discovery thereof.

Upon Saint *Leonards* day the sixt of November 1429, King *Henry* being not full eight yeares old, was with great solemnitie sacred-annointed, and Crowned King at *Westminster*; at whose Coronation were made thirtie six Knights of the Bath.

About this time, the French King, by the instigation of that shee impostour *la Pucelle*, who had bewitched the credulity of those times, and was for the more part esteemed as a Prophetesse; and shee againe to give some colour to settle this opinion, did dare, and doe many things beyond thereach, modesty, and strength of a Woman, riding manlike astride, and in armour, making shew of manhood, and giving forth in speeches, not without some ostentation, that shee was a messenger sent from God, to reconquer out of the hands of the English, whatsoever they had now in possession there: By the subtil working of this *Medean Virago*, the French King was received into *Champaigne*; and *Senlis* and *Bravoys* were sans blow or battery rendred unto him, whilst the Lord *Longeville* tooke by surprise the Castle of *Aumarle*, and slew all the English there.

The Castle of *Galiard* was rendred upon composition, where in an iron grated chamber, they found the Lord *Barbasan*, who having sworne to be true prisoner, could not be induced to come out of that place, untill *Captaine Kingston*, to whom he had given that oath, was upon safe conduct recalled, to acquit him, which was accordingly done. A rare example of constancy

Ar.  
1428.  
R. 7.  
The Armies on both sides in array.

1429.  
Henry the sixt Crowned.

The constancy of the Lord *Barbasan*.

An.  
1429.  
R.8.

constancy in him, considering how little conscience the rest of his Nation at that time made of an oath; yet it may not be forgotten, that of those that were sworne at *Harflue*, either to send their ransomes agreed upon, or to render their bodies prisoners at a day prefixed at *Callice*; of seventy three, not one Gentleman fayled, but either sent his ransom, or yeclded their bodies to the Kings mercy.

The French Kings Councell were resolved, that the onely way to weaken the English, was to disunite the bond of friendship hitherto kept firme, betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoine*; to this end are many messengers sent unto him from the French King, whereby he first laboureth to cleere himselfe of the murther of his Father; next he maketh large offers of preferments, and assurances of free pardon of all offences past, and his royall promise of love and friendship during life. Hereof the Duke certifieth the Regent, but withall giveth him a touch of his unkind deniall of *Orleanse* subjection unto him. The Regent giveth him many thanks for his kind notice, and exhorteth him to continue firme, as he had given promise, and he should have no just cause given him, to repent him of being in league with *England*. Nevertheless, he took order to prevent haddywift, and so to provide, that if the worst should follow the worst, he might be assured of the maine, (which he reckoned *Normandy*) he the lesse regarded the by, though he willingly would neglect no part of the whole. He therefore appointed the Bishop of *Terowen*, Chancellour of the Realme of *France* under King *Henry*, with a competent number of men to guard *Paris*, whilst he departed into *Normandy*, and at *Roan* called a Parliament; in which he inculcated the great benefits that redounded to that Nation, by the friendship of the English, what large freedoms they had, how infinite rich they might grow, by holding good correspondency with that Nation, whereby their Wines and Linnen cloth, might fairely be exported to *England*, and Wooll and Lead, and other staple commodities from thence freely be imparted to them, setting out at large all the commoditie by their loyalty they might have, and the discommoditie they should reape by the other; he concluded with the rightfull claime to the Seigniorie of *Normandy*, to his Nephew and King by lawfull inheritance, from *Rollo* the hardy, first Duke thereof; he now therefore requested, that they would confirme their constancy to the Crowne of *England*; with manifestation of their true affection to him, and so they should be assured of protection, and defence against all opposers.

Charles at-  
tempts Pa-  
ris.

But disap-  
pointed,  
retreats.

In the meane time, King *Charles* that slipt no advantage, that close working might bring to passe, having underhand founded the affection of the *Parisians*, and finding them wavering, presuming by the Regents absence, if he did but appeare before the walls, to carry the Citie, he drew all his forces thither, and used all possible meanes, by escalado, battery, burning the gates, and what else ( sudden invention guided by furious desire to carry it ) could effect, but all to no purpose; for such was the vigilant care, and hardy resolution of the Commanders and Souldiers in defending the same, that the King, whom a little fighting for his part, would fill his stomach, founded the retreat, and with some losse, but more dishonour, leaving his slaine and maimed souldiers behind him, all save the *Puissil impostor*, who being hurt in the leg, and almost stifled with mire in the ditch, was by *Guise Thierborne*, a servant to the Duke of *Alanson*, drawne up and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who in the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Laigny*.

The



The Regent returning to *Paris*, so effectually with words and gesture, expressed his true acknowledgement of thankfulness, for their good service generally, and every ones faith in the particular, that the *Parisians* publickly professed friends to King *Henry*, friends to *Paris*, enemies to *England*, enemies to the *Parisians*.

*Philip* Duke of *Burgoyne* commeth to *Paris*; where it is concluded in Councell, that he shall remaine for the safeguard of the Citie, whilst the Regent (infinitely desirous to affront King *Charles* in the field) makes head against the usurper, but no certaine newes could be brought where he was in person: the Regent in his March regained *Saint Dennis*, with divers other Fortlets adjoyning. The Bastard of *Clarence* laid siege to the Castle of *Sorisy*, which after six moneths siege was yeelded unto him.

Sir *Thomas Kirjel*, with foure hundred English-men, issued out of *Gourney* in *Normandy*, and wasted the Countrey, to the suburbs of *Clerimant*, all along. The Earle of *Britaine*, with his forces, met them neere *Beauvoys*, who not liking to charge them with his horse, observing some disadvantage in the place, or fearing their stakes, caused his men to dismount, and to charge them on foot; but their entertainment was such, that the English made shift with their own horses to follow them flying, taking two hundred prisoners, and slaying six hundred, and so victoriously returned.

The Duke of *Suffolk* having paid his ranfome, and set at libertie, besieged the place, whereof the Lord *Rambures* was chiefe, which after foure and twenty assaults, he caused to be rendred simply unto him.

Sir *Stephen le Hire*, with Captaine *Franquet*, with three hundred men, marching toward *Champaine*, which was beleagred by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Suffolk*, were encountred by *Puissell* *Joana*, and foure hundred with her, who fiercely charged them, but being by the close order of the English, debard from breaking in, shee like a Mastie curte, not daring come too neere, stood baying untill shee had drawne out the garisons of *Laigny*, and other Forts, which all fell upon the English, and made a great slaughter amongst them, and took the Captaine prisoner, who being presented unto her (for shee was revered as a Commander in chiefe) because he would not humble himselfe unto her upon the knee, like her selfe against law of armes, and rule of reason, shee caused his head to be cut off, and all his souldiers taken prisoners, cruelly to be slaine. From thence shee sped her to *Champaine*, into which with her company shee entred, the same as yet not being besieged round. Upon Ascension day at night, this *Amazonian Virago* sallyed out upon the Lord *Bamdoe*, de *Noyels* quarter, where shee did but little hurt, and was repulsed, though her plot was to have fired his lodgings: two nights after by the same place, (the Bridge towards *Montdrider*) with five hundred men at armes, shee sallyed out againe, but being discovered by Sir *John* of *Lutzenborough*, her company was defeated, and shee taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who sent her to the Regent, who sent her to the Bishop of the Diocesse; who after judicall proceeding against her as a Sorceresse, and deceiver of the King and his subjects, by her seeming shew of sanctitie, and her inhumane cruelty, against the King of *England* and his subjects, was after her many delayes of promise of discovery, of secret practises, and lastly, of her fained pregnancy, burned at *Roan*.

The siege still continued before *Champaine*, whither the Regent sent the Earle of *Huntington*, and Sir *John Robsert*, who brought fresh supplies of all

An.  
1429.  
R.8.

The Regent desires to cope with King Charles.

The Earle of Britaine defeated.

1430.

The Puissell Joana taken.

Proceeded against.

Burned.

Ann.  
1430.  
R. 9.

all things. But *Philip* the Duke of *Brabant* being dead, and the Duke of *Burgoyne* going thither to take possession of the Dutchy, as undoubted heire, *Sir John* of *Luxborough* was left in his stead to prosecute the siege, who contrary to the wills of the English, and against the opinion of the major part of the Councell, raised the same and departed, whereby he left the besieged meanes how to have their famine relieved, but the Pestilence raged very hot in the Towne. The game at Chesse amongst the souldiers playd, gave check sometime to the French, and sometime to the English, the one in one place prevailing, the other, doing in another place the like; and so it continued wavering in doubtfull ballance a long time.

K. Henry  
in person  
goeth in-  
to France.

The young King of *England* was by his Councell advised, (for it was by them resolved, that his presence would be a good motive, to retain in his friends in their former fidelity, and reduce the backsliders to their sworn allegiance) to goe with armed power in person into *France*. To this end, upon *Saint Georges* eve he took shipping at *Dover*, and landed on Sunday being *Saint Georges* day at *Callice*, with a well-appointed Army, and from thence by easie marches, went to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris*, where he was by his Uncle the Bishop of *Windshester*, and Cardinall of *Eusebius*, with all well-beseeming Ceremonies and observances, Crowned King of *France*, receiving the oaths of homage and fealty of all the Nobilitie of *France* present, and all the Citizens and Inhabitants of that Citie, and of the places adjacent.

K. Henry  
returnes for  
England af-  
ter a truce  
conclu-  
ded.

It was very observable amongst strangers, and not without some admiration, that so small an Island as *England*, under the governance of so tender an infant, should so long, and upon so good termes; contend with so large, potent, and populous a Kingdome as *France*. But such at that time was the vertue, and martiall valour of the English Nation, that they knew no mean, betwixt death and victory; alwayes preferring an honourable death, before a lingring servitude. This moved *Eugenius* the Pope, and all the Christian Princes, so often to make Overtures of reconciliation, betwixt these two Kingdomes, but could effect nothing, but an imperfect truce for six yeares; which agreed upon, King *Henry* returnes for *England*, and landeth at *Dover* the 11. of February.

The Re-  
gent ha-  
ving bu-  
ried the si-  
ster of *Bur-  
goine*, mar-  
ried a se-  
cond wife.

Ann.  
1432.  
R. 11.

The six years truce, was scarce openly proclaimed, when an unexpected accident, gave occasion of breach thereof, and which was worse, of the amitie betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*; For his Sister the Lady *Anne* being dead without issue, the Regent too suddenly married the young Lady *Taquelme*, Daughter to *Peter* Earle of *St. Paul* at *Termy*n, from whence, before the solemnities of the Feast were fully finished, he posted to *Callice*, to punish the insolency of some of the garrison there, who pretending want of pay, had restrained the Merchants from venting their Wools; foure of the faulty souldiers he executed, an hundred and ten he banished the Towne, and many more he punished by imprisonment; from whence, with his new Bride, on Midfommer eve he departed for *London*: where he stayed untill the end of August following. In which time, the truce began to be forgotten; for the French awaiting all occasions of advantage, by secret plots and devices, had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles, and places of strength, justifying their actions, and affirming, that what was politickly obtained without blows, was no infringement of the truce. And afterwards they perfidiously conveyed two hundred men at armes, into the Castle of *Roan*, presuming to have surprized it, but being discovered, they were all taken, and either executed as traytours, or ransomed.

The Regent knowing these coles would quickly kindle: speeds him to his charge, and preparation on both sides is made for war, wherein he found the Duke of *Burgoyne* lesse forward than he had used to be, whereby the Regent found his affection did slack, but would not seeme to take notice thereof. The Lord *Talbot* having payd his ranfome, commerh to the Regent, and bringerh with him seven hundred tryed souldiers. They take the field on both sides in warlike manner, making shews of encounter, but twice together (being provoked by the Regent to fight) the French slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battell.

The Peasants of *Normandy* pretending to shake off the English yoke (which never had been made insupportable,) rudely armed themselves, and in outrageous manner drew towards *Cane*, but having neither power to command, nor honesty to obey, they were by the Earle of *Arundel* and the Lord *Willoughby* encountred, and easily overthrowne, with the slaughter of 1000. of them; the rest were all taken, whereof the chiefe Leaders were executed as traytors, and the baser sort, upon submission and acknowledgement of their error, permitted to depart to their severall homes: But the Earle and the Lord *Willoughby* being now in the field, and having intelligence that *le Hire* had besieged the Castle of *Gorbury*, drew thither with intent to have succoured it, but finding themselves too weak, they made account to have retired to *Beavoys*, but being descried, they were pursued by *le Hire*, who having advantage, charged; the Earle perceiving no safetie, but not to hope of help, resolved to win or dye, fought valiantly, but the Earle is dangerously wounded by the shot of a Culvering, which caused the Lord *Willoughby* to retyre and convey the wounded Earle to *Beavoys*, where within three dayes he dyed, say the Historians; but the Heralds say, he dyed and was buried at *Lewes* in *Sussex*; he married *Mawd*, the Daughter of Sir *Robert Lovell*, and had issue, *Humphry* that succeeded him, and *Avitia* married to *James Butler* Earle of *Ormon* and *Wiltshire*. After the death of *Arundel*, the Lord *Willoughby* dispersed his forces to their former garrisons, but stayed himselfe there.

The Duke of *Burbon* taken at the battell of *Agincourt*, after eightene yeares imprisonment, paying 18000. pounds for his ranfome the same day he was enlarged, dyed at *London*. *Charles* his Son, who had married the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, succeeded his Father. Betwixt the two brother-in-lawes, an unnaturall jarre was rayfed, but by the mediation of *Mary* Dutchesse of *Berry*, they are reconciled; by whose labour and industry, with the help of the Duke of *Burbon*, a reconciliation is likewise wrought betweene the French King and *Burgoyne*.

The jealousie between the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, was now publickly discerned; Whereby those that cald to mind the great charge, that *Henry* the Fift gave on his death-bed, carefully to retaine that Dukes amity, laboured an enterview betwixt them, to remove all scruples on either part; which was obtained, and Saint *Omers* was the place agreed upon; where both Dukes being arrived, they both standing too punctually on points of Honour, who should give prioritie of visitation, the Duke of *Bedford*, as the Sonne, Brother, and Uncle of a King, and Régent of *France*, pretended it dishonorable for him to begin; and the other challenging the same, as of right belonging to him, to have the first place, the same being within his own Dominions. The wisest in some points are foolish, they both departed more discontented than before: the haughtinesse of the spirit of the one, and the great stomach of the other, being unable to give way to their unruly passions.

Ann.  
1432.  
R. 11.

The Peasants in  
*Normandy*  
rebell.

The Duke  
of *Burbon*  
receiveth  
liberty of  
body out  
of prison  
and losse  
of life all  
in one  
day.

At St. *Omers* the  
Dukes of  
*Bedford* &  
*Burgoyne*  
meet, and  
depart  
without  
conference.



An.  
1432.  
R. 11.

And here upon the Duke of *Burgoyne* made choice, rather to enter league with him that had murthured his Father, than to keep his oath with the King of *England*, or the bond of love, so often plighted with the Regent his friend, and Brother-in-law. And upon the receipt of a blanke Charter under the French Kings Seale, to insert what Conditions of peace hee would, hee proved renegado, and falsified his faith to *England*, lost his reputation to the world, and sold himselfe slave to perpetuall ignominy.

The Towne of *Saint Dennis*, by the perfidiouse of *Matthew Gougley*, was betrayed to the Bastard of *Orleance*, but the Lord *Talbot* presently begirt the same with a siege, to raise which the Bastard *Orleance*, drew great forces together, but before their approach the Towne was given up, and beaten to the ground. The inhabitants of *Pontoys* neverthelesse rebell and thrust out the English garrison, whose examples did set the Parisians mindes on work, to tread the same steps; but the Regents vigilancy over them, hindred their intentions.

1435.

But now began the bright light of *Englands* glory to be eclipsed, and those glorious beames of victory, which they formerly had obtained, every day more and more to decline. The triple twine being cleane untwisted; for the thrice renowned, wise, and circumspect. *John*, Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanson*, Earle of *Mayne*, *Harecourt*, *Dreux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlisle*, and Vicount *Beaumont*; the *Atlas*, whose shoulders kept the realme of *France*, from sliding from their alleagiance sworn to King *Henries*, Father and Sonne; upon the fourteenth of September 1435. at *Paris* exchanged all his glory here, for the fruition of a more sempiternall felicity in another place: he was buried at *Roan* in our Ladies Church; whereat the Nobilitie of *Normandy* much repined, as seeming desirous to have had some place of their own territories, to have been honoured, by giving sepulture to so nobly deserving a Patriot unto them. Yet such was their levitie, that within few yeares after, in the Reigne of *Lewis* the Sonne of *Charles*, they instantly desired, to have the Monument erected over him, to be demolished, alleaging it was dishonourable, to have so arch an enemy to *France*, interred in the Metropolitane Citie of that Province. But *Lewis* answered, God forbid I should give way to so dishonourable an act, as to molest the quiet of his dead bones, that living would (if offended) have molested all here; and it favours of too much basenesse, to insult upon a dead Lion. He had two wives, the first was *Anne*, Sister of the Duke of *Burgoyne*; the second *Iaqueline*, daughter of *Peter* Earle of *St. Paul*; but had issue by neither.

The death  
of the Re-  
gent.

No sooner was his death divulged, but infinite alterations followed, as well in *England* as *France*. *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset* (as one much affecting Sovereigne command) underhand laboured to succeed in the Regency: but the Duke of *York* was appointed, (the Uncle being preferred before the cousin to the King:) which made the young Duke to endeavour what he could to crosse the new Regent, in all the designs abroad, and to under-value at home, whatsoever was never so well atchieved elsewhere, still plotting against him. For ambition is a passion, that will never suffer a man to sleepe, without dreaming of revenge, or to wake without inventing stratagems to compass desired ends.

Emulation  
betwixt  
the Uncle  
& nephew,  
thwart the  
businessse  
in *France*.

*Paris* making sayle whilst the gale blowes, turneth Traytour, and not only rebelleth, but inhumanly abuseth the *English* within their power, and after it had remained seventene yeares in possession of the *English*, yeelds to the Constable,

Constable, who by composition gave the English leave to depart: other Townes tread in the same steps, whose course the *Normans* would have followed, but that the Lord *Talbot*, with some other his associates, did with great discretion, and warlike behaviour, slaughter some 5000. of the rebellious crew, and thereby kept the rest in awe. Private envy all this time hindred publike good; and the emulation betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Somerset*, too long delayed the presence, and supplies of the new Regent, that in the interim the French grew Citie-merchants, buying and selling Cities, Towns, and Forts, to whom would give most: but the English were no good chapmen, and would not sell honour to buy treason. But now the Regent with 8000. new souldiers arrived at *Harflew*, and from thence marcheth to *Roan*, where he won the title, and not undeservedly, of equall holding the scale of justice, keeping the ballance so even and upright, that the partiall observations of those whom *Somerset* had placed as spies over his actions, could not give intelligence of just cause to calumniate.

The revolted Duke of *Burgoyne*, pretending title to the Towne of *Callice*, as soone as the spring approacheth, with an Army of forty thousand men, most of them artificers and tradesmen, whom he easily engaged to the wars, by his authority, and shew of advantage to them, to have a Towne so convenient for any Traffick to be at their disposall, passeth over the water at *Graveline*, and there assaults the poor Bastile of *Oye*, manned but with fifty men, twelve of them having sold their lives very deare, killing ten for one; being slaine, the residue submitted, whom together with the Fortresse, the Duke gave to the *Gantoys*, which place they beat down, and hanged nine and twenty of the souldiers, and would have done the like to the rest, had not the Duke stayed their cruelty.

The *Piccards* besieged the Castle of *Saint Mark*, Sir *John Gedding* being Capraine thereof, who having endured two hot assaults, and seeing no possibility to hold it, yeelded upon composition to have their lives and limbs saved, which Castle was demolished likewise. From thence they begirt *Callice* with a siege, and upon a first approach perswaded themselves to carry it by assault, whereof they made three strong ones, but they found by their repulses, that they reckoned without their host, and were well pleased to keep after within their trenches, not daring so much as to attempt to hinder the shipping that every day with provision entred the harbor. The Duke of *Burgoyne* sent the Lord *Croye* to besiege the Castle of *Guiesne*, where he got little honour, and did lesse harme; many attempts were made to stop the channell of the Haven, and to build a Bastile, to stop the passage of boats; but they were prevented in the execution, and made fruitlesse. In the meane time, *Penbrock* the Herald, brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, giving him to understand from the Duke of *Glocester*, the Protector, that he would (God sending him wind and weather) either there or in any other place the Duke would appoint, in his own Dominions, give him battaile, if he would but abide it; to whom the Duke of *Burgoyne* answered, I shall be sure to stay for him here, untill I have my will of this Towne; wherewith the Herald departed: the Duke of *Burgoyne* calleth a Councell, and whilst they are debating what is best to be done, the *Callisians* make a rally of horse and foot, the foot falling upon the Bastile (lately erected to hinder the passage of the river for Boats) whilst the horse give the alarm to the Camp, the Bastile is carried by force (with the slaughter of eight score of the *Burgoyneans*, and many prisoners, with all the Artillery, and provision) to *Callice*, from whence issued then fresh

Ann.  
1435.  
R. 12.

Callice be-  
sieged by  
the Duke  
of Bur-  
goine.

Ann.  
1436.  
R.13.

The Duke  
of *Burgoyne*  
retreats  
from *Callice*.

forces, to favour the retreat of the horse, who with the losse of twenty horse, and an hundred and twenty men, returned; which strook such an amazement amongst the Burgonian Bores, that they were incapable of any understanding what to doe; and thereupon a faire gale of wind blowing, the hearts of the bread and butter-fed Flemings were so amared, that they presently rumored, the approach of the Duke of *Tork*; and after the rumour was once up, the fame increased the number, and the certainty of the sight of eight hundred sayle was affirmed, so that those that seemed not to be daunted with the newes, were suspected to be traytours to the Duke of *Burgoyne*; the Dutch upbraide the Piccards, the French the Gantoys; nay, the most resolute of the Councell, told the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that the stay might give opportunitie to the enemy to beleaguer his Leaguer, and to set down betwixt him and *France*, and then they should be coopt up, and be charged both before and behind; which so did take the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that presently in a fury, raging like the *Perſian*, that threatned the Tempest and whipt the Sea, he sent to the Lord of *Croy*, and both of them that night quit their quarters, and in that haste departed, that they left a great part of their best Ordnance, and all their provision, for the reliefe and help of the besieged. It seemed they had some reason to run, for the next day (being the seven and twentieth day of July) the Duke of *Glocester* landed at *Callice* with five and twenty thousand good fighting men, and finding the enemy recoyled, forrageth all the Countreys adjacent, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Arthoys*, and *Hennault*, and so returning by *Saint Omers*, *Arde*, and *Guyens*, comforting his friends, and terrifying his enemies, with great and rich booty, they arrived at *Callice*. But the want of bread, whereof they could not be furnished all the way, did bring divers diseases amongst the Army, whereof more dyed than were slaine upon any Camifado by the enemy; for encounter they had none all the way.

The Duke of *Tork* returneth into *England* to the rescue of *Rocksborough* Castle, defended by Sir *Ralph Gray*, and besieged by the King of *Scots* with thirty thousand men; who having advertisement of the Earle of *Northumberland* approach, and the Dukes safe returne, fled with no lesse losse, than dishonour, and enough of both.

A truce is desired betwixt *England* and *Burgoyne*, and obtained; the meeting is appointed at *Gravelin*, where, for the King, came the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolk*, with *Humphry* Earle of *Stafford*, and others: For the Duke appeared his Dutchesse, the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Lord of *Croys*, where truce for a very small time is concluded on, and for lesse kept.

1437.  
The death  
of three  
great La-  
dies.

This yeare was memorable for the death of three great Princesses, *Katherine* Queen of *England*, and Sister to the King of *France*; The old Dowager of *Henry* the fourth King of *England*, Daughter of the King of *Navarre*, and Mother to the Princes of *Britaine*; And the old Countesse of *Armanack*, Daughter to the Duke of *Berry*, and Mother to the Duke of *Savoy*; which all dyed within eight and forty houres the one of the other. The fury of fighting growing cold, Traffick for Townes was again set on foot, and *Harflew* sold; For the recovery whereof, the Duke of *Somerſet*, with the Lord *Talbot*, and a brave company of souldiers, beset it both by land and water: there being within to defend it, Sir *Iohn Estourville*, and his brother, with six hundred men and upward; the Earles of *Ewe*, with the Bastards of *Orleanse* and *Burbon*, with foure thousand men, came to the rescue, but so well were the *Engliſh* entrencht, that the *French* could neither succor their friends,

not



nor annoy their enemies; and so as they came they returned: Whereupon the Towne was surrendred upon composition.

About this time, the Dutchesse of Bedford followed Queen *Katherine's* example, making election for an Husband of a gallant young Gentleman, but of small meanes, yet fortunate onely enough by being affected; one Sir *Richard woodvile*, whom shee took to Husband, to the great discontent of her French friends, but especially her Uncle, the Bishop of *Teruine*; but shee cared not who was vext, so her selfe was pleased, and God not offended; who blest her, and made her Mother of many children; and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward the fourth*.

*James King of Scots*, (which before had been fifteen yeates prisoner in *England*, and from thence released with a Wife; a great dower, and many honourable presents, yet proved ingratefull) was murthered by certain his trayterous subjects in his bed-chamber by night, who being found out, were cruelly tortured.

The King  
of Scots  
murthe-  
red.

The Duke of *Burgoine*, having attempted the unworthy traffick, of bartering for *Callice* with money, but not able to compasse it, being infinitely desirous to be Master of it, when neither force, nor fraud could prevaile, attempts it by a strange policy, but of like successe to the former; for he was perswaded by a ridiculous practise, so to cut a ditch, that he might at his pleasure, drowne both the Towne and Countrey; about this he employed much labour, and more cost, but this fantastickall fancy of a flood, vanished away (like his Flemmish Army at the siege thereof) like a vapour.

The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tanckervile*, and harh it (after foure moneths lying before it) simply rendred unto him: In lieu whereof, the French King in his own person, layes siege to *Monstren faulx Tonne*. Whilst the Duke of *York* was providing for the rescue of this Towne, he was discharged of his office, by which meanes Sir *Thomas Gerriard* had the more colour to sell, not lose the Towne, which the King of *France* making his own contract with him, bought of him for rewards and preferment, both promised, but how performed, I know not; only having sold his honour with his charge, he lived (disgraced and discarded in much discontent) an exile in *France*, where he died.

This yeare is a Parliament holden at *westminster*, in which were made many good and profitable acts, as well for the preservation of peace at home, as for provision to maintaine the warres abroad.

A Parlia-  
ment at  
*westmin-  
ster*.

*Arthur*, Constable of *France*, and *John Duke of Alanson*, besieged the Towne of *Auranches*, whither the Lord *Talbot* came and offered them battell, which they refusing, he marched in despite of them (none daring to make resistance) into the Towne; from whence next morning he sallyed out, and having made a great slaughter amongst them, took divers prisoners, and retreated at pleasure, the French being well contented so to be rid of him.

The French the next morning were called from the siege pretended for *Pautou de Santrelis*, for the *Hire* had sent Letters unto them, that they had the promise of divers Bourgers of *Roan*, when their watch-night came, to let them in; they wisht therefore the Constable to meet them at *Rize*, a place within foure leagues of *Roan*; hereof the Lord *Talbot* having notice, covertly marcht to *Roan*, and from thence, though wearied with a bad journey, marcheth before day to *Rize*, where he surprizeth the French, taketh the Lord *Fontaines*, Sir *Allaine Geron*, and many other; the *Hire*, by the help of his horse (though not unwounded by him that pursued him) escaped; and so

*Roan* at-  
tempted,  
but with  
losse to the  
French.

Ann.  
1437.  
R. 16.

Talbot returneth to *Roan* with a faire bootie, and full instructions to discover the Traytours, who convicted, had the reward of their treason.

The first day of November, the Earle of *Warwick*, who seven times having been aboard, and still beat back by tempestuous and contrary winds, landed at *Hoinflew*, with a thousand fresh souldiers, came to *Roan*, whither the Duke of *Tork* was come downe, and from thence returned for *England*.

The Duke of *Burgoine*, taking advantage, as he thought, of a still water, with ten thousand men, besiegerth the Towne of *Crotoy*, to relieve whom, the new Regent sent the Lord *Talbot*, with five thousand men, whereof the Duke having notice, upon their approach, retirerth with his power (except foure hundred, with whom he had manned a Bastile, by him there erected) to *Abrule*; but the Bastile is soon gained, and all the souldiers either taken or slaine.

The valiant *Talbot* sent the Duke word, that if he would save his Countrey of *Piccardy* from vastation, that he should come into the field, where he attended him, and would give him, if he dared to come, bataille. But the Duke of *Burgoine* was not in the fighting humour, neither loved to be too neere so cholerick an enemy, that would strike, if he might come at him; and therefore from *Abrule* secretly conveys himselfe to *Amiens*. Twenty dayes together, did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and sword passe thorow *Piccardy* and *Arthoys*, destroying all that stood in his way, and so returneth unencountred. Sir *Thomas Kirgel* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance, and having left in *Crotoy* victuall enough for six hundred men, for a whole yeare, he brought the rest to the Earle of *Warwick*, who thankfully received them.

The Lord  
*Talbot* har-  
roweth  
*Piccardy*.

1438.

*Henry* Earle of *Mortaine*, sonne to *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with three hundred Archers, and three hundred Speares, and past thorow *Normandy* to *Mayne*, and took in his March by assault, the Castle of *St. Anian*, wherein were three hundred Scots and French-men; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the French-men, for that they had sworne fealty to *England*, and broke it: He took likewise the Castle of *Algarche*, and by meanes of an Ambush taketh the Lord of *Camerois*, comming to the rescue thereof; on the other side, the Townes of *Neux* in *Bryand* and *Susan*, were sold and delivered to the French, by the trecherous Burgers.

Famine in  
*England*,  
Pestilence  
in *Paris*.

All manner of graine in *England*, in respect of the scarcity thereof, was at exceeding high prices, and had not the care and industry of the then Major, *Stephen Browne*, been such that he had caused provision of come, especially Rye, to be bought, and brought from far Countreys thither, the famine would have raged as much in *London*, as the fearfull Pestilence did in *Paris*, where those that dyed in the streets lay unburied, untill the ravenous Wolves made their mawes the sepulture of their flesh; but God in his mercy ceased the plague in *Paris*, and replenished *London* with graine in abundance, to the great reliefe of remoter parts of the Kingdome, which before that time were driven to make their sustenance of Featneroots and Ivy berries.

1439.

In June the Earle of *Huntington*, with two thousand Archers, and foure thousand Speares, was sent into *Gascoyne*, whither the Earle of *Danoyes* was lately come, throughly instructed and provided, to buy the best penny-worths of Townes and Castles he could compasse; but the Earle of *Huntington* upon his comming thither, changed all the Captaines and Officers, and put others in their roomes, whereby he warily prevented the Bastards chafferours. This strumpet Bribery, and whore covetousnesse, began to spread their

their wings so farre, that in *Normandy* the English Captaines had small confidence in the Natives; and not too much in some of their own Nation; Whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlaine*, Sir *William Peis*, with a thousand men were sent thither, to stop the current of French crownes, from corrupting the yet faithfull souldiers with them. They according to their directions, narrowly sifted all, and where they found fault, or cause of suspicion, they punished or removed; and having settled all things in good order, returned.

A gap began this yeere to bee opened, whereby the English might have entred to have made a reduction of those Pieces the French had bought or conquered; but the wisdom of the Councell of *France*, stopped it by reconciling the King and his son the *Dolphin*, between whom by the sinister perswasions of base Sycophants on both sides, there were discurtesies taken before given, and discontent without any ground: the sonne deeming his Fathers grave deportment, too too much austerity, and the Father the *Dolphins* youthfull countenance, to a kind of contempt beyond filiall durie, neither having just cause of jealousy, yet both suspicious of each others countenance: But the knot of seditious faction, tyde between the Dukes of *Burgoyne*, *Alanson*, and the *Dolphin* is dissolved, and the King and his Sonne in shew reconciled. Some small Pieces were in this time regained; but *Paris*, for which provision was making for the reduction thereof, was left off, upon the notice of the reconciliation.

In a great bend of Frost, with a deep snow, the English under the conduct of *John Lord Clifford*, having covered their armour with white shirts, and their heads with white Alman skulls, come to *Ponthoys* by night, and undiscovered, past the ditches, scaled the walls, slew the guards, and took the Towne, with many good prisoners, and a great spoile: presently upon the regaining of which Towne the Earle of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and was from thence conveyed to *England*, and buried in his Colledge at *Warwick*; hee was the sixteenth Earle of *Warwick*, and Lord *Lisle* in the right of his Wife; hee married two wives; the first *Elizabeth*, Daughter and heire of *Thomas Lord Barkley*: and *Margery* his Wife, Daughter and heire of *Warren Lord Lisle*, and *Tyes*, by whom hee had issue three Daughters.

*Margaret* the eldest married to *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who had issue *John Talbot*, Vicount *Lisle*.

*Elianor* married with *Thomas Lord Rosse* of *Hamlock*, and after to *Edward Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*.

*Elizabeth* married to *George Nevill* Lord *Latimer*.

Earle *Richard Beauchamps* second Wife, was *Isabell* Daughter of *Thomas Spencer*, Earle of *Glocester*, by whom he had issue, *Henry* Duke of *Warwick*, and *Anne* married to *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Salisbury*; who in her right was after Earle of *Warwick*.

To reduce *Ponthoys*, the French King in person layeth siege thereunto, and useth all possible meanes hee can to enforce it, but the defendants but flout him for his paines, and many times send his assaulting souldiers halting home, with fleas in their eares.

*Richard* Duke of *Tork* being the second time made Regent, being arrived with the Earle of *Oxford*, and the Earle of *Ewe*, levies a power to raise the siege; and arriving there, giveth notice to the King, that the next morning he would bid him battell: But the King not liking the breath of *Talbot*, leaves

An.  
1449.  
R. 18.

*Ponthoys*  
taken by  
the Eng-  
lish.

*Ponthoys*  
succoured.



An.  
1441.  
R.20.

The French  
King braved by the  
Regent,  
but is patient.

Treaty for  
a peace.

The Duke  
of Orleanse  
released.

leaves his Ordnance, and best provision in the Bastile of Saint *Martins*, and in the midst of the night stole to *Poyssy*. The English possesse his tents, furnish the Towne with the provision therein left, and thereof make Sir *Gervoyes Clifton* Captaine, with a thousand souldiers for the defence thereof, and then marched to *Poyssy*, where he braved the French King, and thought with taunts and revilings to have put valour in him; but he was too patient to bee provoked to fight; wherefore hee left him there, and returned to *Roan*.

A motion of parley is moved, the place appointed, *Callice*, by the mediation and sollicitation of the Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*, shee being a Portugall by birth, very sollicitous of the safetie of her husband, and the quiet of *France*, a woman of no ordinary capacitie, but of an extraordinary understanding: by her meanes the King of *France* sendeth the Archbishop of *Reimes* and *Narbon*, and the Earle of *Dunoys*. For the King of *England*, the Cardinall of *York* and the Duke of *Exceier*, with whom came *Charles* Duke of *Orleanse*, who having beene long kept Prisoner, was in good hope of enlargement, but the successe of the meeting not answering the expectation, nothing was done for his enlargement, for in such treatises, such as have the possession of strongholds, doe commonly use policie and delayings, the stronger giving lawes to the weaker, so that the English would not bare an ace of what they had gotten to keep; and would have for the ranfome of the Duke their first asking, which was more than his meanes could any way compasse: and the French King not very forward to give him any assistance, so that the disconsolate Duke patiently returnes: but his misery so moved the heart of the Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*, that she prevailed so farre with her husband, that hee passeth his credit for the payment of three hundred thousand Crownes for his ranfome at *Callice*, at a day prefixt, at which time and place the Duke of *Orleanse* in person, and the Duke of *Burgoynes* money meet, where the one being received, the other, after five and twenty yeeres imprisonment, is released, and by his sonne that had slaine his Father, and fought the ruine of his house: but now a firme league of friendship is sworn and confirmed betwixt them, by the marriage of the Duke of *Burgoynes* Neece, *Mary* of *Cleurs*, to the Duke of *Orleanse*, which justifies the Proverbe, *The best meanes to vanquish an enemy, is to doe him all the good you can.*

The Regent divided his Forces into three parts, hee sent the Lord *Willoughby* into *Amyens*, the Lord *Talbot* to *Deep*, and himselfe, with the Duke of *Somerfet*, went into the Dutchie of *Anjou*. The Lord *Willoughby* made such speed, that he took many prisoners, before they could get to any place of defence, but presently the garrisons draw together, and make opposition, but they are defeated, and six hundred men of armes slaine; such as escaped fell into the hands of the Earle of *Saint Paul*, who was comming to the aid of the Lord *Willoughby*. The Regent returneth with a great prey to *Normandy*, whither *Willoughby* likewise commeth: But the Duke of *Somerfet* re-entrench the Marches of *Britain*, and tooke *la Gearch* by assault: from thence he marches to *Ponsay*; The Marshall *Loach* intended to have surprized the Duke of *Somerfet* in his Tents, but the Duke to prevent that hazzard, meets him halfe way, and chargeth so suddenly and soundly, that the Marshall is routed, and threescore and two of his men are taken Prisoners; then hee marched and took the Town of *Beaumont*, and having manned all fitting places upon the Frontiers, laden with rich spoyle, he returneth.

The

The Lord *Willoughby* had entrenched himselfe round *Diepe*, and built a Bastile upon *Mount Pawlet*, which did much annoy the besieged: But wanting amunition and supplies of men, he left his naturall Sonne to prosecute the siege, himselfe posting to *Roan*. The *Dolphin* with sixteen thousand men commeth to raise the siege, and three dayes together ply the Bastile with assaults, but could not carry it, untill shot and powder fayling, they were over-pressed with multitude, and young *Talbot* is taken prisoner, with *Sir Iohn Peyto*, and *Sir Iohn Repley*, all which were shortly redeemed by exchange; The rest of the souldiers seeing the Bastile won, stood in armes all day, but the enemy not over-willing to doe too much, and they as willing to give way, not being able to cope in the dark of night, they retired to *Roan*.

The Earle of Saint *Paul* forsakes the English, and is reconciled to France.

The English besieged *Tartus*, for the rayling whereof the French King marcheth downe threescore thousand strong, and relieveth the Towne, and from thence marcheth to *Saveryne*, which he taketh in, and therein *Sir Iohn Rampton* prisoner: Then took hee in *Argues*, the Captaine with all the souldiers by composition withdraw to *Burdeaux*: The English cut off all convoyes of victuals from comming to the King, for want whereof the King is driven to returne, after whose departure the English reduce all that the King of France had taken, and take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his souldiers.

The Lord *Talbot* this while taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleance* from the siege of *Galiardon*: The French in the Castle of *Cornill* detained many English prisoners: *Sir Francis* the *Aragonist* apparelleth halfe a dozen lusty fellowes like *Pesants*, carrying baskets with corne and victuals, and sends them to the Castle; he with his company lie in ambush in a valley neere the Castle, the six unsuspected are admitted, and comming to the Captaines chamber, seize upon him, and give the signall to the ambush, who came readily on, entred the Castle, put the souldiers to the sword, and set the prisoners at liberty, burnt downe the Castle, and with the Captaine, and the booty of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

Whilst thus the ball of warre was by the English honourably toft from one end to the other, in the tennis court of France; the divell and his ministers sow the seeds of unnaturall sedition between the two brothers of England, the one seeking by a legall course the reformation, the other the ruine of a brother. The Protector Articles against the Cardinall, for too ambitiously affecting prehemine, to the derogation of the Kings prerogative, and contempt of his lawes; these Articles are delivered to the King, & by the King, to be maturely examined by them, to his Councell, who being most of the Clergie, and not daring to give occasion of offence to the Cardinall, leave them unmedled withall: whilst the Lady *Elianor Cobham* the Dukes Wife, by the Cardinals plot is accused of treason, by sorcery and witchcraft to have intended the overthrow of the King, and advancement of her husband to the Crowne, for this howsoever shee was acquitted of treason, shee is adjudged open Penance, and perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of *Man*. *Thomas Southwell*, *Iohn Hun* Priests, *Roger Bullingbrooke* a supposed Necromancer, and *Margery Iowden* stiled the Witch of *Eley*, are arraigned for devising of a picture of wax to be made in proportion of the King, which by their Sorcery they should make to consume, and so accordingly should the

Ad.  
1441.  
R. 20.

The Earle  
of Saint  
Paul for-  
sakes the  
English.

The Ca-  
stle of  
cornhill  
surprised  
by a stra-  
tagem.

Vnnaturall  
dissension  
betwixt  
brothers.

Kings

*Ann.*  
1442.  
*R. 2 1.* Kings body: for this they are condemned, the Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Bullingbrook* was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that there never was any such thing devised or thought of by them: neither at any time was more desired of from him by the *Duchesse*, or any other from her, but if hee could by his Art find out how long the King should live: *John Hun* had his pardon, and *Southwell* died the night before hee should have beene executed.

The Duke of *Glocester* silently sees what speech could not amend, and undergoes all these affronts with patience, attending equall distribution of Justice; as it had past on his forgetfull Wife, so it might passe on his unnaturall brother, the Archbishop: But the Cardinall by his orall sanctitie, and men- rall impurity, had so bewitched the King, and those of the Church of his Councell, that the good Duke hoped in vaine.

The Duke of *York* hath a Sonne borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and Christened there by the name of *Edward*. The Countesse of *Camings* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earle of *Arminack* are Competitors for the inheritance; The Earle takes possession, but doubting, and not without cause, that the King of *France* would not be pleased to take a *Rowland* for an *Oliver*, makes offer to the King of *England*, of his Daughter in marriage, and besides a large portion in money with her, to deliver over full possession of all such Townes and Castles, as were by him, or his Ancestors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had beene formerly, by the Progenitors of the King of *England*, conquered, or by the King of *France* to any of them given. And further, to furnish the King with money sufficient to recover all, or whatsoever was with-held from him there, by any person whatsoever. The Embassadors for this businesse were by the King of *England* graciously heard, and honourably returned; after whom were sent, Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Rose*, and others, to conclude all things, and by proxie, the young Lady is affianced to King *Henry*.

King Hen-  
ry betro-  
thed to the  
Earle of  
*Arminack*'s  
Daughter.

The King of *France* to prevent the growth of so rank a mischief, sendeth the *Dolphin* with a puissant Army, who took the Earle, with his youngest sonne, and both his daughters; and gained the Countries of *Arminack*, *Lovergue*, *Rovergue*, *Moulessehoys*, with the Cities of *Severac* and *Cadeack*, chasing the bastard of *Arminack* out of the Countrey, by meanes whereof the marriage was then deferred, and afterward disanul'd.

*Ann.*  
1443.  
*R. 2 2.* The Christian Princes (casting their contemplative looks upon the misery of *France*, for the present groaning under the three arrowes of Gods vengeance, *Fire*, *Sword*, *Famine*; and the danger of *England* to be embroyled hereafter in the like; whereof there were already discerned, too many symptoms, like themselves) did by their severall Embassadors, labour a peace betwene these two powerfull Kings, and prevailed so farre, That at a Dyet at *Tours* in *Touraine*, there appeared for the King of *England*, *William de-la-Pole*, Earle of *Suffolk*; Doctor *Adam Molys*, Keeper of the Privie Seale, Sir *Robert Rose*, and others: for the King of *France*, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleance*; *Lewis*, Earle of *Vendosme*; *Pierce de Bresse*, Steward of *Poyton*, and *Bartraym Beaur*, Lord president of *Presigury*; there came Embassadors likewise from the Emperour, the Kings of *Spaine*, *Denmark*, and *Hungary*; to be mediators: The Assemblie was great, and the expences greater every day than other, each one striving to exceed the other in entertainment for the honor of their Masters; many meetings were had, many motions made, but as one wave brings on another, one quere increased many doubts, no

full



full conclusion is made, onely a truce for eightene moneths is agreed upon. In the meane time, the Earle of *Suffolk* stretching a point of his Commission, beyond his direction, without the knowledge of his fellow Commissioners, plotted a marriage with the kinswoman of the French King, and the King of *England*; in which businesse the Earle of *Suffolk* was so intensitive, and made such large and unnecessary proffers, that he did not escape the aspersion of being bribed by the King of *France*.

To that businesse an interview betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *France* is agreed upon, without warrant of King *Henries* part, to bee betweene *Chartres* and *Roan*: The Commissioners returne, where nothing is forgotten by *Suffolk*, that might illustrate the beauty and lovelinesse of the proposed Bride, or the great utilitie that might redound to both Kingdomes, by the consummation of this marriage; the King was easily induced to give credence, to the relations; but divers of the Kings Councell, especially the Duke of *Glocester*, opposed, and give reasons against the proceeding; first, that her descent was not royall, nor her dignities, but barely titular, and all her Fathers titles, but disputable; alleaging that Duke *Rayner*, Father of *Margaret* the much commended Lady, was but by himselfe stiled King of *Scissill*, *Naples*, and *Ierusalem*, without any penny profit or foot of possession of any those places.

Next, that his Poverty was such, that he could not subsist without continual reliefe from his friends, whereof his son-in-law, must be ever a furtherer; then the Duke obtruded the dishonor, that would redound to the King if he should forsake the Duke of *Arminacks* daughter, to whom he had in that ceremonious manner been publickly affianced; and the dangerous consequence of breach of faith, and neglect of the friendship of so potent a neighbour, and lastly the unsufferable losse, by the surrendering and releasing his title to the Duchy of *Anions*, so unadvisedly proffered by the capitulation of the Duke of *Suffolk*; but all this while hee but laboured against prejudice, for though it could not be denied, but that his reasons were undeniable, and better than could be given to the contrary; yet, they must not have place of beliefe, because *Suffolks* affirmation and negotiation, must not bee undervalued.

*John Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, is created Duke of *Exceter*; *Humphry* Earle of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Harry* Earle of *Warwick*, Duke of *Warwick*; and the Earle of *Suffolk*, Marquesse of *Suffolk*, The new Marquesse honourably accompanied, fetcheth the Lady *Margaret* from *France*, and shortly afterward shee is Married at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, and Crowned Queene of *England* at *Westminster*, on the thirtieth day of May. How advantagious this match was for the Crowne of *England*, may be gathered, when shee brought not a penny portion, the charge of coming being defraid by the Marquesse, who had towards the discharge thereof, the full Fifteen granted to the King in the late Parliament, and in exchange of her Person, the Duchie of *Anion*, the City of *Mauns*, with the whole Countie *Mayne*, and so the best props of the Duchy of *Normandy*, are surrendered into the hands of the French, but affection is blind, and what shall be shall bee, youth rides in post to be married, but in the end, finds the Inne of repentance to be lodged in.

The Duke of *Arminack*, in requitall of the King of *Englands* kind usage of his Daughter, is a meanes to expell the English out of the whole Duchy of *Aquitain*.

An.  
1442.  
R.22.

A truce  
agreed  
upon.

The Earle  
of *Suffolk*  
transfends  
his Com-  
mission.

King Hen-  
ry marri-  
eth Duke  
*Rayners*  
Daughter.  
1444.

And

Ann.  
1444.  
R. 23.

And it is to bee feared that God was displeased with the match; for after the consummation thereof, there was a quotidian consumption of the Kings Friends, both in his owne Land, and Forraine parts; intestine warres are kindled at home, and rebellion is rise in all parts abroad; and which is most grievous of all (after the slaughter of many thousands of his Christian subjects), the confusion of his Ucles and their Posteritie almost, the Deposition of himselfe, the inhumane butchery of his Son, the Queen must be sent home againe, in as much misery and contempt, as shee was now received with pomp and acclamations.

The  
Regent  
comes for  
England.

Ann.  
1446.  
R. 24.

During the time of the truce, as well to be partakers of the jollitie of the Court at this time, as to visit their familiars and friends; the Regent and chiefe Commanders resort to *England*, and there put the King and Councell in mind to provide a cloak ready, though Sun shone bright, lest it should raine. Whereupon a Parliament is assembled, wherein is especiall provision made for the furnishing of all the Frontier Townes, but principally the places of *Normandy*. To which end, levies of men and money are made, and all things usefully-necessary are prepared: But a spark of fire is fallen amongst the flax, which though little, and unseene at first, grew to an unquenchable flame.

The Duke of *Tork* being at first chosen Regent for five yeeres, and at the expiration thereof returning, was received *nec immerito*, with great love and commendation. After the death of the Earle of *Warwick*, who succeeded him in the Regency, hee againe as a man well-deserving the place, is sent over with the like Authority and instructions for other five yeeres; but *Somerset* which envied the Duke of *Torks* first advancement, and still was full of peccant humors against his continuance of that place, so undermined *Tork*, that by the meanes of the new Marquesse, whose favour from the King and Queene now, was beyond mediocrity, and into whose more inward familiaritie *Somerset* was now engratiated; he not only supplanted him from the place, but procured it for himselfe, to the no little heart-burning of the Duke of *Tork* and his friends; but he had wit in his anger, and rested silent.

The Towne of *Mauns* according to the agreement, is not given up; The King of *France* prepares to besiege it, but upon the motion of the Marquesse, order is given for the present surrender thereof; now no man in grace with the King but he; none can have any favour from the Queen, but by him; the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Councell; he gets of the King the Wardship of the body, and lands of the Countesse of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and heire of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the seventh.

*Glocesters*  
destruction  
plotted.

The Kings facile nature, and flexible condition, was the occasion that many enormities encreased, and many things made worse, that might have beene better, if observed, and stopt in the beginning. The Duke of *Glocester* for his moderation and provident care in all things, stiled good, and for his plainnesse in delivery of his mind honest, is an eye-sore to an ambitious minion, and an imperious woman; shee will no longer admit any curb to her vast desires of empery; shee is as well able to advise the King, as all his Councell; to what purpose then needeth a Protector? The Duke of *Glocester* must therefore bee removed and excluded, not only from command, but Councell: and to adde to affliction, shee permitted, if not procured, divers sinisterly affected, to in-  
forme

forme against him; whereof the new Marquesse and the Duke of *Buckingham* were not the most backward, and the Cardinall, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, would not be much behind. One objection was made against him, that he had caused divers persons to be executed, contrary to the judgement of the Court denounced, and against the law of the land in these cases provided: his too much zeale of execution of justice (if zeale in that point may be justly termed a crime) made him subject to be censured to have perpetrated a criminall offence. But to avoid tumultuary partakings (for hee was generally well esteemed, howsoever by purblind observers deemed worthy raxe) it was concluded by those that maligned his sincere and just proceedings, that hee should without any publick denuntiation of his offence, be privately convicted and condemned; to which end a Parliament (by the procurement of his enemies, unwitting to the King) is called at *Bury*; to which the Duke of *Glocester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* then high Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested, and put to ward, all his followers without exception sequestred from him; whereof thirty two are committed to severall prisons: the next day after his commitment, hee is found in his bed murdered, yet shewed the same day, being the foure and twentieth day of February, publicly making show, as though he had dyed of an Impostume; but all indifferent persons that saw his corps, could not but deeme he dyed of an unnaturall cause: his corps were the same day conveyed to Saint *Albones*, and there buried. Five of his menitiell servants, Sir *Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artzis*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to bee drawne, hanged and quartered. But the Marquesse of *Suffolk*, to make a show to the world of his having no finger in the businesse, brought their pardon, and delivered it at their proposed place of execution. Some criticall observers have affirmed, the stile of *Glocester* as ominous; and make instance of *Hugh Spencer*, *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, and this Duke *Humphrey*; but it may be well collected, that this Dukes death gave a prodigious preface of the ensuing calamity of the Common-wealth.

Sometimes in quenching of smoak, men burne their fingers in the fire; so the Queene, casting to preserve her husbands honour, and her owne regality, in making away this honest Duke, affected that which discretion should have most laboured to prevent, which was, the decay of the house of *Lancaster*, which was unlikely to have chanced, if this Duke had lived. For his primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *Yorks* claime to the Crowne, this *Richards* father being but the fifth sonne of *Edward* the third. *Humphrey Plantagenet* was the fourth sonne of *Edward* the third, Duke of *Glocester*, Earle of *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Pembrook*, Lord of *Frisia*, great Chamberlaine of *England*: hee married two wives, *Iaquet*, from whom he was divorced; and *Elienor*, daughter of *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, by whom, before marriage, hee had a daughter called *Antigona*, married to *Henry Gray*, Lord of *Tankerville*, but no issue legitimate.

The new Marquesse of *Suffolk*, by the great favour of the King, but more desire of the Queene, is created Duke of *Suffolk*, which brought him within the compasse of Contempt of the Kings surviving Uncle, the Duke of *York*, who now beginning to suck the venome of his kinswoman, the Lady *Cobhams* forcery, and awakened with his brothers losse, her

An.  
1446.  
R.34.

Perfomed.

1448.



Ann.  
1448.  
R. 26.

The Cardinall of  
Winchester  
dies.

William  
Wanfleet  
consecrated Bishop  
of Winchester.

The truce  
broken by the Eng-  
lish.

disgrace, and his owne disrepute; having by consanguinity, and affinity, a faire meanes to draw a partie, observing that they only sate at the stearne that were unable, yea, unworthy to use the oare of the Common-wealth; and that all affaires of state were meereley managed by the Queene and her Favourite the Duke of *Suffolk*, the King being as a Cipher, but at their pleasure to make a number; did among his familiars privily whisper his title and right to the Crowne, and as farre off, as in a landskip, to make a shew of desire to see the flourishing encrease of the white Rose; and so politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, ere his purpose was published. During this plotting, *Henry Beauford*, the rich Cardinall, Bishop of *Winchester*, takes his leave of this world, and leaves more riches behind him, than either good deeds, or glorious name; he was more noble in blood than notable in learning; of high look, and haughty stomack, constant in nothing more than malice and mischief, and that chiefly employed against good Duke *Humphrey*: his desires were insatiable for money, still coveting more, but mis-employing nothing in expence; for he only hoorded to make others rich, and him selfe poore; what his ends were, except he was perswaded never to die, no living man did know; and had he desired to have measured his greatnesse by his goodnesse, he had never beene administrator to his owne good name, for that died long before him, without which we leave him, to bee seconded in the Bishoprick of *Winchester* by a more deserving Prelate, which was *William Wanfleet*, so stiled of the place he was borne in, but his name was *Patten*, of the worshipfull family whereof he was descended.

The fifth of August following dieth *John Holland* Duke of *Exceter*, Earle of *Huntington*, and *Ivry* in *Normandy*, Lord of *Sparr*, Lieutenant generall of the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, Admirall of *England*, and Constable of the Tower of *London*: he married two wives; *Anne*, daughter of *Edmond* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom hee had issue, *Henry*, that succeeded in the Dukedome: his second wife was *Anne*, daughter to *John Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*; by her hee had issue a daughter, *Anne*, married to the Heire of *Westmerland*, *John Nevill*, by whom she had no issue. Then she was married to *Thomas Nevill*, brother of *Ralph* the father of her first husband, by whom she had issue, *Ralph*, the third Earle of *Westmerland*. And her third husband was *James* Earle *Dowglas*, by whom she had no issue. Before the time of truce was expired, the divell cast a bone by meanes of an overforward Curre, that set all on snarling: For Sir *Francis Surryens* an *Aragonois*, thought worthy to bee admitted into the honourable society of the Garter, taking advantage of the securitie the French Garrisons did sleep in, suddenly, upon our Lady day eve in Lent at night, surprised a Frontier Towne belonging to the Duke of *Brittaine* called *Fougeirs*, ransacking it, killing the Inhabitants, and carried away all the spoyle: the Duke adviseth the French King, lying at *Reunes*, thereof, who by his Embassadours complains both to the King of *England*, and the Regent *Somerfet*; the fault is all laid upon the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant or wit, the King or Councell neither advising, or approving what was done. Nevertheless, for restitution or satisfaction, a meeting is appointed at *Lamveirs*, where the Commissioners treat of the businesse; But whilst they talk of this, newes is brought to the Regent, that the French by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of hay, comming over the Draw-bridge, caused the

the Axeltree to break, and whilst the porter was ready to help the Carter, the porters braines were beaten out, and the Towne of *Ardes* surpris'd, and the Lord *Fauconbridge* Captaine thereof, taken prisoner; restitution is demanded by the English, they are answered with their owne language, what was done, was neither by the privy, or procurement of the French King or any of his Councell; so they hold fast on both sides their ill-gotten bargaines; and from thence forward the truce on both sides is broken; all things grow worse and worse. The French King assemblenth a mighty Army, and dividing it into three parts, imployeth every one in a severall quarter, who according to direction, get possession of *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernuele*; all which by composition attended twenty dayes to bee rescued, but none came. This warre is begun before the terme of truce expired, the English gave the first occasion, and are payed with their owne coyne; whilst the new Regent which like the sons of *Zebede*, presumed of more abilities than hee had, knowes not where to begin, nor what to say or doe, makes ready to reckon the Townes lost: but newes is brought of a conspiracy against him in the same Towne; hee goes about to suppress that, whilst the enemy is at another Town ready to carry it, without speedy succour; whereupon he gives Command to such troopes to march as he thinks fit: but they in stead of putting his Command in execution, expostulate the reason of such directions: then calls he to Councell; but there is more time spent in chiding and finding fault, than in debating for the amending of what is out of square, whereby his proceedings, as it were, make a parenthesis to a discourse betweene the good government of the Duke of *York*, and the bad event of the murdered Duke of *Glocester*. Thus perplexed, the Regent in a desperate case, complaines of want of Councillors, talks much to no purpose; does many things to as little prooffe, or profit: and so having tired himself to no end, retires himself to his Chamber, and there with more deliberation than discretion debates with himselfe what is best to be done.

*Ar.*  
1449.  
*R.26.*  
*Ardes surpris'd.*

The Cocks now begin to crow upon their dunghill, which but a while before were cowed by the English, if staying, or cravend by themselves if they fell a running; *Constance*, *Guisard*, *Gahard*, *Pontean sa meare*, *Saint Loe*, *Festampe*, *Newcastle*, *Tongue*, *Moleor*, *Argenton*, *Lisseux*, and some other peices in *Normandy*, are reduced to the Crowne of *France*; *Mauliffon* in *Guyen* upon notice of their defections, arme against their Garrison, and set open the gates to the Earle of *Foys*, who enters and taketh it. This is seconded by the Citizens of *Roan*, who vexed the Regent, and the Earle of *Shrewsbury* more within, than the French army abroad, and enforced them to make composition, to have liberty with bag and baggage to march to *Cane*, and to procure by a certaine day, divers adjacent strong peices, to bee surrendered unto the French; and untill the same were delivered, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Butler* the heire to the Earle of *Ormond*, to remaine pledges, who were sent to be safely kept in the Castle of *Eureux*.

Succours are sent for into *England*, but an unexpected occasion diverted the passage of them, for the necessity of present meanes, to suppress an insurrection made by rebels in *Ireland*; for effecting whereof, the Duke of *York* is with an Army sent thither, where hee so behaved himselfe, that he not only suppressed the insurrection, but purchased the good will and affection of the Irish nation firme to him and his for ever after.

The Duke  
of *York*  
sent into  
*Ireland*.

An.  
1450.  
R.27.

The Frenchmen now throughly fiesht, assault *Harflew*, but are by Sir *Robert Curson* for a long time valiantly repelled, but in the end, fearing to bee forced, he makes composition, to depart with body and goods: *Fougiers* and Sir *James de Benyon* are likewise received by the Duke of *Britaine*.

A fresh supply of fiftene hundred men, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Kirzell*, are sent over, who did as much as with so small an handfull could be expected, taking in some Townes; but marching with the rest of the Army towards *Bauguenx*, at a place called *Formigney*, hee was encountred by the Earle of *Clerimont*, and seven thousand French and Scots; at first the French were driven to recoyle, and lost two peeces of their Ordnance; but the Constable of *France*, with foure hundred men at armes, and eight hundred archers, came to the rescue; and being fresh, so beat upon the tyred English, that they with the losse of three thousand seven hundred threescore and thirteene, besides divers prisoners, gave prooffe, that it was not altogether impossible, but that the English might be overcome, which hitherto in *France* for many yeares they never had beene: Sir *Thomas Vere* and Captaine *Gough* escaped to *Roven*.

The English  
over-throwne.

The French King with an army royall besiegeth *Cane*, which is bravely defended, till the Dutchesse importuneth her husband to take pity of her, and his children, & to give over the town; her entreaties and his childrens tears so far prevaile, that he moves the surrender to Sir *David Hall*, who was there in right of his Master the Duke of *York* owner of *Cane*, who knowing that there was no great Correspondency betwixt the Duke of *Somerset* and his Colonel, boldly told the Duke, that he had the charge of that City delivered to his care, that he would give a good account of the keeping of it, or leave his life as a testimony of his goodwill to have done it: the Duke of *Somerset* urged his authority, which so incensed the old Captain, that he said that he could never better have expressed his insufficiency than ambitiously having affected so imminent a place, now durst not abide the hazard to stay in it: this so moved the Regent, that he complaineth hereof to the rest of the Captains, to whom he maketh shew of more danger than there was, and so farre prevailed with them, that they for the most part agree to make composition for their departure with bagge and baggage; which being granted, Sir *David* with some few of his rerinue departed into *Ireland*, where to his Colonell he related all the passages betwixt him and the Duke, which set a root of rancour in the heart of the Duke of *York* against *Somerset*, that the seeds were never after dead, till drowned in blood.

An over-  
bold but  
true lan-  
guage.

The French triumphed in *Normandy*, having cleerely gotten it, after an hundred yeares possession, out of the English mens hands, and finally won all *France* to the obedience of *Charles* their King: the reasons of this totall reduction of these Provinces are diversly delivered.

Some affirme that the English had grasped more with their hand, than they could well hold, joyning more Towns than they could man, and having more lands than they could manure, so that their store bred their poverty. Others say that the Captaines kept not halfe the number in their Companies that they received pay for. Others affirme that *Somerset* was blinded with French-crowne dust, that he could not discern danger, till the souldiers tasted destruction. But it is most agreeable to truth, that the triple-headed *Gerion* in *England*, presumption in government by some unmeet to rule, the inveterate malice, and insufferable pride of the last created Nobility, and the universall distaste of the Commons too much oppressed with exactions and



and burdens, was the originall and finall cause of the ill successe our Armies had in *France*. Yet by the way, consider but the deportment of the English Nation, the concurrence of martiall men, their counsell, discipline, designes, from the beginning of *Edward* the first untill this time; and you will acknowledge that they were men of worth and prowesse, and carried the palme of victory before them wheresoever they went. But *Suffolk* must beare a share, and a great one, of the blame for this businesse; for he is not only exclaimes against, as the cause of the surrender of *Anion* and *Mayne*; the chiefe procurer of the Duke of *Glocesters* death; the occasion of the losse of *Normandy*: but they accuse him further, to have wilfully wasted the Kings treasure, for being a meane to remove sufficient men from the Councell boord, and admitting of Favourites that were only to serve his turne; his ambition ayming at the advancement of his faction, though with the destruction of the King, and the subversion of the Common-wealth. The Queen taketh notice of these aspersions, and too well knowing how farre they were guilty, that were thus toucht, doubting the Dukes destruction, and her owne downfall, if this current were not stopt, so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the Black-Fryers, is adjourned to *Leicester*, and from thence to *Westminster*.

Ann.  
1450.  
R. 27.

*Suffolk* traduced.

The Parliament adjourned from Black-Fryers to Leicester, and then to Westminster.

In the meane time, all meanes possibly are used to stop the mouthes of those that were incensed against the Duke, but it prevailed not. For the Lower house exhibited their Bill of grievance against the Duke of *Suffolk*, to this purpose;

1. That he traiterously had incited divers the Kings enemies, as namely, the Bastard of *Orleanse*, the Lord *Presigny*, and others, to levie warre against the King, to the intent that thereby the King might be destroyed, and that *John*, the Duke of *Suffolks* son, who had taken to wife *Margaret*, Daughter and sole heire of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, whose Title to the Crowne the Duke of *Suffolk* had often declared, in case King *Henry* should die without issue, might be King.

2. That by his sinister practises, *Charles* Duke of *Orleanse*, notwithstanding the many cautions upon great reasons, by King *Henry* the fifth to the contrary given, obtained his liberty.

3. That through his treachery by the abetment of the Duke of *Orleanse*, the French King hath gotten possession of all the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and taken prisoners the valiant Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and many other brave Commanders; But to all these he affirmed himselfe not guilty, neither in thought or deed.

Then were further allegations made against him, to this purpose:

1. That being with others sent Embassadors into *France*, he transcended his Commission, and without privy of his fellow Commissioners, presumed to promise the surrender of *Anion*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts*, and the City of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown.

2. That he had traiterously acquainted the Councell of the French King with all the affaires of State, and passages of secrecy; by whose traiterous information, the enemy was throughly instructed in all the designes of the King and Councell.

3. That hee had received rewards from the French King, whereby all succours sent to the Kings friends in *France*, were disappointed and frustrate.

Ann.  
1456.  
R.27.

4. That by his wicked practises, the good Duke of Gloucester was deprived both of Protectorship and life.

5. That by his labouring, such only were made of the Kings privy Councell, that more respected the Dukes particular profits, than the good of the King or Realme.

6. And lastly, that he had underhand fraudulently enriched himselfe with the Kings treasure and revenewes, and had possessed himselfe, by abusing the Queenes favour, of all Offices of charge and credit about the King.

All these he faintly denied, but could not acquit himselfe of them. But to bleare the eyes of the people, and to keep them hoodwinked during the time of Parliament, the Duke is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament is no sooner dissolved, but he is set at liberty, which so much incensed the vulgar people, that they could not be restrained within the limits of obedience, but in many places, after they had vented their swolne spleenes in garbent exclaiming against the corruption of the times, and the wrongs the Commonwealth sustained by the misgovernment of the Queen and her Favorite, they fel to an insurrection, and under the leading of a desperate Commander, stiling himselfe *Blewbeard*, they began to commit some outrages, but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captaine was apprehended, and the rebellion ceased.

Suffolk  
committed  
to the  
Tower.

A Parlia-  
ment: sum-  
moned.

The Parliament is againe assembled, and great care taken of the Election of moderate-minded men, for Citizens and Burgeses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceedings against *Suffolk*; but his appearance gave such a generall distaste in the House, that though he came in the company of the King and Queen, they would not forbear, but begin the assembly with Petitioning the King for exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon such that had plotted or consented to the dishonourable release and resignation of *Anson* and *Mayne*, whereof by name they did instance the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Sir James Fynes*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House; whereupon, to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place. The Dukes Offices are all discarded, and himselfe formally banished for five yeares, but with an intent, after the multitude (which are quickly forgetfull of what is not ever in sight) had put out of minde the hatred conceived against him, to have revoked him: But God did otherwise dispose of him; For when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have waisted over into *France*, he was met by an English man of Warre, taken and carried to *Dover Sands*, had there his head chopt off on the side of the long boat, which together with the body were left there on the sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of *Humphrey*. This *William de la Poole* married *Alice*, Daughter and heire of *Sir Thomas Chaucer*, who had issue by her *John*, who succeeded him; and *William*.

Whilst these things are in agitation, the Duke of *York* (though in *Ireland*) began to spread his nets in *England*, to catch such, as either through disgraces were discontented, or otherwise envious at the unworthy preferment of ill-deserving persons; or such as were any way ill-affected with the present government. ever suggesting by the way his Title to the Crown, as descended from *Philip*, Daughter and heire of *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, elder brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather of *Henry* the sixth. Then it is privately whispered:

1. That the King was simply of a weak capacity.

2. The

2. The Queen incorrigibly ambitious.
3. The Privy Councell, if wise, yet not honest enough for their places.
4. That through their inabilities, all *France* was lost; and that God would not blesse the usurped possession of King *Henry* the sixth.

Amongst other that were caught with these reportative engines, the Kentishmen swallowed downe the hook, and are taken therewith; which being observed by an Instrument of the Duke of *Torks*, called *Mortimer*, he taketh his time, and telleth the many, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them into a course to work a generall reformation both in Court and Countrey; and free them for ever from those great and insupportable burthens of taxations so often (upon every slight occasion) obtruded upon them.

The people are so taken with these promises of reformation, and freedom of impositions, that they draw to a head, and make *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their Leader, who stiling himselfe Captain *Mend-all*, marcheth with no great number, but those well-ordered, to *Black-beath*, where between *Elisham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a moneth, exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased, in that majestick manner, as if he were Lord Paramount of all *Kent*, nay, of *London* also. To him resort fresh companies of all sorts, and from all parts. Then he presents unto the Parliament, then assembled at *Westminster*, the complaints of the Commons, and a justification of the cause of their assembly, to be for the glory of God, the honor of the King, and the good of his faithfull subjects. And first, whereas it was generally voyced, that the County of *Kent* should be depopulated, and made a wilde Forrest, for the death of the Duke of *Suffolk*, they justifye their innocency of the fact, and therefore crave the avercion of any such sentence or decree: Then they make remonstrance.

1. That the Queens Favourites share among them the revenewes of the Crowne, whereby the King is enforced (for the supportation of his present estate) to tax and burthen the Commons with many great and un-usuall payments, to their utter undoing, and the generall impoverishment of the Kingdome.

2. That the Lords of the blood royall are sequestred from the Kings presence, and the places of Councell are supplied by persons of poore condition, who to enrich themselves, make sale of Justice.

3. That the Commons have their Commodities daily taken from them, for the purveyance of the Kings household, for which they are not payed, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but Court-promises.

4. That upon the apprehension of any man for treason or felony, before conviction, the Kings meniall servants beg the goods and lands of the impeached; Whereupon, indirect and unlawfull proceedings are used, by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges, whereby justice is perverted; and the innocent, after attained, and if not executed, yet perpetually imprisoned, to their undoing, and the enriching of such Court-Batrours.

5. That the Commons can have no legall proceedings in their law suits, so that the rightfull owners of inheritance, dare not (if opposed by any Courtier or their Favourites) maintaine their titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, or maintenance of their possession, how just soever.

6. That the treachery of making sale of the Kings possessions in *France*, have brought to beggery many thousand English, who now for want of im-  
ployment

An.

1450.

R.27.

*Mortimer*  
incites the  
many to  
insurrec-  
tion.

The grie-  
vances of  
the Com-  
mons tea-  
dred to the  
Parlia-  
ment.



Ann.  
1450.  
R.27.

ployment, are ready to starve or steale, whilst these Town-jobbers are suffered to enjoy the benefit of their traitorous compositions, and are opulent and mighty.

7. That the Kings Collectors and other accomptants are much troubled in passing their accompts, by new extorted fees, and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of *quarum nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-ports, and there suing out their *quietus* at their owne charge, without allowance from the King.

8. That the Sheriffs, and under-Sheriffs let to farne their Bayliwicks; whereby those that buy deere (being to make a saving bargain) are compelled to sell deere; whereby they so fleece and shank upon the poore Commons, that they are hardly able to subsist.

9. That such Bailiffs under colour of the green wax out of the Exchequer, do levie greater summes than are by the record justifiable, yet maintained.

10. That the Officers of *Dover* Castle did usually, upon feigned actions, arrest through the shire, forcing poore people to give their demands, rather than they would be at that expence to go to the Court, and there dance attendance at pleasure; by means wherof they are often driven to spend more than the thing demanded, to the great vexation of the Commons.

11. That they cannot have the freedome of election of Knights of the shire, Citizens and Burgeses for the Parliament, but by letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their friends and retainers; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses are chosen, and commonly such, as to please the Courtiers, displease the Commons.

12. That the Collectors offices are bought and sold at the pleasure of the Justices of the peace, taking bribes of some that are of a soft disposition to be spared; and taking bribes on the other side of turbulent spirited men, to have leave to execute the place.

13. That they are too much troubled with too often comming to attend the generall Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five dayes journey to the place where they are kept; hereof they made complaint, and crave redresse, and that speedily.

The Captaine likewise for his own particular, after protestation made to live and die in the quarrell of the King, and in justification of his being Sovereign and undoubted Lord; and of affirmation of his desire, of the Kings welfare, and prosperity of the Realme, maketh petition that the King would be himself, & not live of the almes of his poor Comons, whilst his proud Courtiers riot out the revenewes of the Crown: to that end, he craveth that the King will resume into his own hands all the demesne lands, rights and profits of the Crown, now sold, or leased, or farmed, or otherwise disposed of.

2. That his Majesty would be pleased to call back, and into favour to receive the truly noble Prince, the Duke of *York* now exiled from his presence, and with him the right honourable, the Dukes of *Exceter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realme, by the undue practises of *Suffolk*, and his complices, commanded from his presence; And that all their antagonists and ill-willers might be banished the Court, or bard their place in Councell, and displaced of their Offices.

3. That condign punishment might be impartially inflicted upon al the plotters & contrivers of the Duke of *Glocesters* death, their associates & abettors; and of all such as were the causes of the death of the Dukes of *Exceter* and *Warwick*, with the irrecuperable losse of the Kings possessions in *France*.

4. That

Captaine  
Mend-all  
his private  
petition.

4. That there might be a generall motion of corrupt officers, an abolition of the Green wax, and other instruments of extortion, out of the Exchequer; a qualification of the rigor of proceeding in the Kings Bench, an inhibition of unequall purveyance of provision for the Kings household, a cessation of proceedings against the offenders of the statute of Laborers, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge, Cromer, Isell and East*, whom he pretended by wrongfull informations to have abused the King, and wronged his subjects.

These Bills of inrimation and petition are sent from the lower House to the upper; from whence the examination of the circumstances are committed to the Lords of the Kings privy Councell; who, having thoroughly perused them, and maturely examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and conclude the promovers and authors thereof proud and presumptuous rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Councell, to punish the unlawfull attempt of these rebellious pretenders, rather by force than entreaty. This advice is seconded by the Queen, whom she perceived now they principally aimed at, though not as yet in overt terms discovered. The King drawes his forces to *Greenwich*, from whence he appointed divers namelesse Lords to assaile the rebels; but they were told by their followers, that they would not fight against their friends, as only laboured the reformation of abuses, and the punishment of such traytors about the King, as the Lord *Say*, the Kings Chamberlain was, whose name was rise in every mans mouth, as well on one side as other, to be reproached; whereupon the Lord Chamberlain is presently committed to the Tower, and (until other forces come) the King and Queen retire to *London*; from whence within two daies being now full 15000. strong, the King in person marcheth towards Captain *Amendall*, who politickly withdraweth his forces to *Senok Wood*; upon notice whereof the King retireth to *London*. But the Queen thirsting after their ruine that plotted hers, sends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphry* and *William*, with many gallants, to follow the rebels; these, proud of imployment, make more haste than good speed; for they found *Jack Cade* in good order, ready to receive them, who in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his brother, and put all the rest to flight. The Kings forces being at *Black-heath*, could not by threats or entreats be enforced or perswaded to goe to the rescues. But hearing of the discomfiture of the *Staffords*, and the forward Courtiers, they began to whistle treason, wishing the Queen and her Favourites in *Staffords* roome, or that the Duke of *Tork* were in *England* to aid his Cousin *Mortimer* (never owned to be of the house of *March* untill now.) But all expressing their backwardnesse to make resistance, many of them steale to the Kentishmen, and others from *Sussex* and *Surrey* increase his number, whom he ordereth, restraineth from foraging or taking any thing by force, or without payment; yet how, or from whence he had provision of food for this numerous company, or mony to provide it, had not some Londoners underhand given him assistance, might have beene wondered. But he returneth againe to *Black-heath*, and encampeth where the Kings army lay the night before, who were now faine downe to *Greenwich*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, are sent to expostulate with the rebels and their Captaine about their demand (a miserable time the while, when two such Peeres must be employed in such a manner to so meane a person and a rebell.) But now being together, *Jack Cade* with a sober composed countenance, and great moderation, expressed himselfe in very good termes, but without shew of reluctance or cessation from

An.  
1456.  
R. 27.

The two  
Staffords  
defeated  
and slaine.

Ann.  
1450.  
R.27.

from armes, except the King in person would heare the grievances of the subject, and passe his Princely word, for reformation of their wrongs; this settled (if not peremptory) resolution made knowne to the King, who was in doubt of his owne forces, as being unsure of his owne Souldiers faith, marcheth presently to *Killingworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, where hee fortifieth, and victualleth, as suspecting to bee besieged, having left nor power, nor Commander of note behind, but only the Lord *Scales*, who with some forces were left to guard the Tower. The Kentish Capitaine, taking advantage of the Kings departure, commeth to *Southwark*, where hee orderly quartereth his men, earnestly exhorting his Souldiers, to bee Examples of that in themselves, that they made pretence to finde wanting in others; and to bee regular, and modest, and to commit no outrage either in or about their lodging; he himselfe kept the watch, and kept all things faire and square. The next morning they marched to *London-bridge*, where they made shift with their swords to cut the ropes of the draw bridge, no force being used for resistance; and so in good order they march by *London-stone*; upon which the Captain struck his sword, saying, *Loe, Mortimer is now Lord of London*. The Maior of *London*, *Sir Thomas Chalton*, standing upon the threshold of his doore, with a bold countenance, as though hee had power enough (if he would) to repress him, told the Capitaine, that if hee should attempt any thing against the quiet of the City, that hee should feele hands enough about their eares to stop them; before they went too farre; whereunto *Jack Cade* not permitting him to proceed, with a settled brow, said; Let the world take notice of our honest intention; by our actions, wee pretend not publick reformation, and intend private ends of enriching our selves by undoing others; let us have your favourable opinions, if you will not give us further assistance, and in the meane time to give you assurance, our tongues and hearts are relatives; observe our demeanours; and so giving the word, his Souldiers faced about, and returned to their last quarter, not doing by the way the least thing that might be tearmed wrong to the Citizens. This orderly carriage of himselfe, with the care of the Commanders to keep the men in obedience to the statutes and provisions of their Generall, won them a good opinion amongst the most of the lower rank of Citizens; he therefore assuming to himselfe the title and place of chiefe, sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst whom he wrote this to *Thomas Cock* Draper of *London*.

The form  
of *Jack*  
*Cades* war-  
rant.

By this our writing ensealed, we grant and will permit truly, that *Thomas Cock* of *London* Draper, shall come in surety and in safeguard to our presence, without any hurt to his person, and to avoyd from us againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him coming in: subscribed thus, *His Majesties loyall subject, Iohn Mortimer,*

*Captaine Amend all.*

Upon *Cocks* admission he had private conference with three other with him: and the Capitaine at his departure gave him these instructions in writing.

You shall charge all *Lombards*, and Merchant strangers, *Genowayes*, *Venetians*, *Florentines* and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordaine for us the Capitaine, twelve harnesse compleat of the best fashion; foure and twenty Brigandines, twelve battell axes, twelve glaves, six horses with



with saddle and bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand marks in ready money; and if this our demand be not performed and done, wee shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them.

Next morning, being the third of July, having received the *Lombards* contribution, he returned in battell array to *London*, and from thence sent to the Lord *Scales* for the bringing of his prisoner, the Lord *Say*, to the *Guild-hall*, whither he had called the Maior with his brethren, and before whom hee caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned; who, craving the benefit of the Law, to be tried by his Peeres, was forthwith taken from his Keepers, and brought to the Standard in Cheap, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was carried before him to *Mile-end*, whither he went to have conference with the Mutiners of *Essex*, which were encamped there; by the way casually meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, the high Sheriffe of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Sayes* Daughter, hee caused his head to be struck off, and carried with his Father-in-Lawes before him in derision. From thence hee returned into *Southwark*, and orderly kept his watches, tying the Companies to their martiall duties.

In the morning they came again to *London*, where, after publick execution made of some of his followers that had done things contrary to his Proclamation (for he made the transgression of his Edicts criminal, without the least partiality or sparing any) upon some displeasure formerly taken against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and sent it to his quarter in *Southwark*, and fined Alderman *Horne* at five hundred Marks, and began in a more insolent manner, than hitherto he had used, to beare himselfe; which caused the graver Citizens to take advise amongst themselves, for some speedy course to be taken for the repressing of these insolencies, and the assurance of their lives and substance from the fury of such Rebels. They send therefore by night to the Lord *Scales*, who promiset them his best assistance, and to that end sendeth to them *Matthew Gough* an old souldier, and an able Captain, with some forces and furnitures out of the Tower; who presently are drawne downe to *London Bridge*, and at the foot thereof stand to debarre the Kentish rebels from passage that way; whereupon the alarum is given, and *Cade* endeavoured to force his passage, so that a cruell fight began which did continue many houres, sometimes winning, sometimes losing ground; at length the Rebels pravailed so farre, that they drove the Londoners from the Draw-bridge; then they began to set fire on the houses, when the aged and impotent, betweene the mercilesse elements of fire and water (whilst the more able were slaine by the sword) most miserably perished; Captaine *Gough*, Alderman *Suton*, and *Robert Hayland*, valiantly fighting, were slaine.

Now had the Londoners lost the Bridge, and were driven to *S. Magnus* corner, but a fresh supply being come, they recovered the Bridge, and drove the Kentish beyond the stoop in *Southwark*, at which time both being weary, agreed of a truce untill the next day, neither party to goe into the others quarters. After the retreat *Cade* found that hee had lost many of his most able men, he was therefore driven for supply, to set at liberty all the prisoners in *Southwark*, aswell fellows as debtors, to fill up his number; but now his Souldiers entring into consideration of their danger, and the desperate services their Captaine had brought them to; and (though with the latest) advising privately amongst themselves of some course to retire and returne to their houses and families, being weary of the life of a Souldier, they

An.  
1450.  
R.27.

Ann.  
1452.  
R. 29.

The Cap-  
taine of  
the rebells  
slaine.

The Bi-  
shop of  
Salisbury  
murthere.

A Parlia-  
ment.

hung downe their heads, and waited but opportunity to give their Captaine the bag; which being wisely apprehended by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, collecting by their countenances their change of opinion, he, together with the Bishop of *Winchester*, came from the Tower by water to *Southwark*, where they shewed the Kings Generall pardon, under the great Seale of *England*; which being publicly published, the people were not more weary of rebelling, than glad of the pardon; and without bidding the Captaine farewell, they that night withdrew themselves to their severall habitations. *Jack Cade* having sent his pillage by water, with some few followers, bent his journey to *Quinborough* Castle; where, contrary to expectation, being debarred entrance, hee disguised himselfe, and privily fled; but Proclamation being made, that hee that should bring him alive or dead, should have for his reward a thousand Marks, he was afterward by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached; but making resistance in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Sussex*, he was slaine: his body was brought to *London*, and there beheaded and quartered; the one placed on *London* Bridge, the other sent into divers places in *Kent* to be set up.

Upon this newes the King sends his Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the abettors of the Kentish rebells, whither himselfe followeth in person; and notwithstanding five hundred were found guilty, eight only were executed. The slips of this rebellion did spring about this time in many places of this Kingdome, but chiefly in *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and *Wiltshire*, but were soone appeased without much hurt done; only the *Wiltshire* men, upon the nine and twentieth day of June, drew *William Askots*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the high altar, celebrating Masse in *Edington* Church in his Albe with his Stole about his neck, to the top of the hill, and there inhumanely murdered him: their rage having blinded their reason, banisht humanity, and drowned all pitty. They stripped him naked, every one of his tenants striving to have a peice of his bloody shirt, not, as others, to have the relicks of the Martyr, to celebrate his memory; but as glorying in their owne villany, they having the day before robbed his carriage, and taken the summe of ten thousand Marks.

The French King, taking hold of these disorders in *England*, winneth out of their hands all whatsoever was in their possession in *France*; no succour (though often and earnestly by writing and Messengers required) being sent unto them; so that *England* at this time suffered a totall eclipse of glory in *France*; they every day losing more or lesse, untill they had nothing left in *France* to lose, but the Towne of *Callice*, and the Castles of *Hames* and *Guynes*; so that King *Henry* the fifts prophetick declaration, that what *Henry* of *Mormouth* got in *France*, *Henry* of *Windfor* should lose, was now verified.

The Duke of *Somerset*, having so well discharged his place of Regency, that he had lost but few men, but consumed much Treasure, and kept never a Towne, commeth into *England*; and at a Parliament, which began at *Westminster* the sixth of November, was put under arrest; upon notice whereof the Commons of *London* despoiled his house at *Black-Friers*, and ransacked the same, making havock of all things, untill Proclamation was made, on paine of death, that no man should meddle with any the Dukes houses or stufte; and one for disobeying the Proclamation, was beheaded at the Standard in *Cheape*.

The Duke of *York*, under pretence of comming to this Parliament, came out

out of *Ireland*, and at *London* had private conference with *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Richard Earle of Salisbury*, the Earle of *Devon*, and others his assured Friends, where it was resolved to keep the chiefe purpose (the pre-  
tence to the Crowne) secret, and onely make shew of his endeavours to be bent, to remove those from the Councell of the King, that had so dishonoured the Realme, and wasted the revenewes of the Crowne, in losing so many good Townes in *France*, and doing nothing worthy their place or credit they held about the King: whereof the Duke of *Somerset* must be the chiefe man to be instanced; and the rather, for that he was in great contempt of the Commons, and was the onely he, that opposed the Duke of *York* in all things. The Duke having laid the foundation of this his so long intended enterprife, sent divers Letters unto the King, wherein he intimated, the many unworthy proceedings plotted against him by his enemies, whereby they had well-nie, if not altogether, withdrawne his Majesties affection from him; and though he were, and was ready, to lay downe his life at the Kings command, as a testimony of his ever to continue loyalty, yet by their secret and dishonourable practises, they had besmeared his honour with suspicion of his integritie; which was a grieve unutterable, and an injury unsupportable. That his patience abused, might turne to fury; neverthelesse, his onely request was, to know his accuser, and either to have libertie to desie him, and make good his challenge by the law of Armes, or be permitted to take that course for the reparation of his Honour, as was appertaining to his condition and birth.

Ann.  
1452:  
R. 29:  
The Duke  
of Yorks  
policy to  
cloak his  
intention.

To this the King maketh answer, that he would take his complaint of wrongs into consideration, and endeavour to give him faire satisfaction; but withall somewhat blames him, for the death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his meanes suspected to be slaughtered, and of dangerous speeches, uttered by his servants, tending to rebellion; concluding, that notwithstanding any thing said, or done to the contrary, he did take and esteeme him as a faithfull subject, and a loving kinsman.

The Duke of *York* not herewith satisfied, intending at once both to promulgate his protestation, and display his colours, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Common-wealth, and the removing the bad Councillers (that sought the ruine of his subjects) from the Kings Councell.

York raises  
forces  
in Wales.

Newes hereof being brought, the King, with the Duke of *Somerset* (now enlarged) with an Army marched towards *Wales*; whereof the Duke of *York* having notice by his Scouts which way the King came, by a contrary way marched towards *London*, but having from thence received advertisements, that he would be prohibited entrance, he past the River *Thames* at *Kingstone* bridge, and marched into *Kent*, expecting there to finde many friends, at least partakers, and encamped upon *Burnt beath*.

The King in his pursuit came to *Blackheath*, and there pitcht his Tents. From whence the King sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrew*, the keeper of the Privie Seale, to know the cause of this Commotion, and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Dukes demands were consonant to reason. The Duke made answer, that there was nothing intended, that might be prejudiciall to the Kings person, his Crown or Dignitie, nor to the hinderance of any good man, but to remove certaine blood-suckers, evill disposed persons, oppressours of the poore, and infamous impostors, from about the King; but especially *Edmond Duke*

The King  
sends to  
the Duke  
of York.

Yorks answer.



An.  
1452.  
R. 29.

*York* dis-  
misseth his  
Army.

of *Somerſet*; whom, if the King would be but pleaſed to commit to Ward, untill by a legall tryall in Parliament he might receive judgement, of ſuch reaſonable crimes, as ſhould then and there be proved againſt him; that then he would not onely diſmiſſe his Army, but come unto his preſence, as a true and loyall ſubject in dutie was bound ſo to doe, and to tender him all beſitting ſervice. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to priſon. The Duke of *York* diſmiſſeth his Army, and commeth in perſon to the King, where finding the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Preſence, he chargerh him with treaſon. The Duke of *Somerſet* denieth the accuſation, and recriminates the Duke of *York*, to have conſpired the death of the King, and the uſurpation of the Crowne.

The King removeth to *London*, and the Duke of *York*, as a priſoner, rode before the King, but the Duke of *Somerſet* at libertie; which miniſtred much occaſion of heart-burning amongſt the friends of *York*.

The King calleth a Councell at *Weſtminſter*, where the Dukes are earneſt in accuſing each other; *Somerſet* inſtantly craved of the Councell, that the Duke of *York* might by compulſion, or otherwiſe, be made to confeſſe his Conſpiracy, and to doom him to condign puniſhment, and his children taken as enemies to their Countrey, as the only means to repreſſe the ſo much to be feared civill diſſention. This he with great ſhew of vehemency urged, but not (how true ſoever) to the point of belief; for the moſt of the Councell ſuggeſted his innocency; firſt, by his voluntary ſubmiſſion, when he had power ſufficient, either to have kept the field, or to have aſſured his retreat; then, by his requeſt made, not for himſelfe, but for the eaſe of the poore Commons; next, his carefull and honourable endeavours, both in *France* and *Ireland*, where, if he had had any ſuch traiterous intent, he had the pan by the ſtale, and might have kept it. But while the Councell are debating this, at the very inſtant, the Earle of *Kendall*, and the Lord *Leſpar*, crave preſent admiſſion to the Boord, and audience, as Embaſſadours from *Burdeux*, for buſineſſe of great import, and ſpeedy diſpatch: they being admitted, declare to the Kings Councell, how readily and really the inhabitants of *Burdeux* are to ſubmit their obedience to the Crowne of *England*, if they might but be aſſured, to be defended by it; they therefore offer upon the appearance of an Army in *Gascoyne* (if come before the plot be diſcovered) to yeeld all up unto them. To ſecond this, commeth a conſtant urged report, that *Edward* Earle of *March*, Sonne and heire to the Duke of *York*, with a great power of *March-men*, made a ſpeedy march towards *London*. Theſe newes troubled the Queene, thoſe the Councell; it is therefore reſolved on, that the Duke of *York* (left private diſſention ſhould hinder publick deſignes of ſuch conſequence, as the reduction of *Gascoyne*) ſhould in the preſence of the King and his Nobilitie, and all the Congregation, at the high Altar at *Pauls*, take his oath of ſubmiſſion, and allegiance to the King of *England*; which he accordingly did, and ſo had libertie to depart to his Caſtle of *Wigmore*.

*York* takes  
the oath of  
allegiance.

*Burdeux* is  
reduced.

After his departure, the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with about three thouſand men, was ſent to *Gascoyne*, who arriving in the Ile of *Madre*, paſſed forth with his power, and took *Fronſack*, and other pieces. But having received in the night inſtructions from *Burdeux*, he makes all ſpeed thither, and was entred therein, before the French had notice of his coming, ſo that many of them were ſlaine by the Lord *Leſpar* in their beds: ſhortly after the reduction of *Burdeux*, there arrived at *Blay* the Earle of *Shrewsburies* ſonne, Sir *John Talbot*.

Talbot, with the Bastard of Somerset, with divers others, with two and twenty hundred men furnished and victualled; by whose meanes *Burdeux* is well manned with English, and provided for at full, whilst the Earle was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places whither he came; and having taken *Chattillon*, he strongly and sufficiently fortifieth and furnisheth the same. The French King rayseth an Army, and forthwith besiegeth (by his Commanders) *Chattillon*; to the rescue whereof the Earle maketh all possible speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earle of *Kendall*, and the Lord *Lesper*, to follow with the foot. In his way he surprised a Tower the French had taken, and put all within it to the sword; and meeting five hundred French-men, that had been forraging, he slew a great number of them, and chased the rest to the Camp; upon whose approach, the French understanding which way the enemy came, they left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly trenched and fortified, whither the Earle followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Camp, where being shot thorow the thigh with a Harquebush, and his horse slaine under him, his sonne desirous to relieve his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his Bastard brother, *Henry Talbot*, and *Sir Edward Hall*, and thirtie other Gentlemen of name; the Lord *Molynes*, with threescore others, were taken prisoners, the rest fled to *Burdeux*, but in the way a thousand of them were slaine.

Thus on the last day of July at *Chatillon*, the thrice honourable Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that name, gave the last testimony of his true service to his King, after he had employed the same to his never-dying Honour in the parts beyond the Seas, by the space of foure and twenty yeares; he had married two wives, the first was *Matild*, daughter and sole heire of *Thomas Nevill*, Lord *Furnivall*; by whom he had issue, *John* that succeeded him in the Earldome, *Sir Christopher Talbot*, and *Sir Humphry Talbot*, Knights.

His second wife was *Margaret*, elder Daughter and Co-heire of *Richard Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwick*, by whom he had issue, *John Talbot*, in right of his Wife Viscount *Lisle*, slaine with his Father.

*Sir Humphry Talbot*, slaine at Mount *Sinai*.

*Elizabeth*, married to *John Mowbray* Earle of *Norfolk*.

And *Elleanor*, Wife to *Thomas Boteleer*, Lord of *Sadley Castle*. And a naturall sonne, slaine, as afore, with his Father; his body was buried in a tombe at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this inscription; Here lyeth the right noble Knight *John Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Weshford*, *Waterford*, and *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodritch* and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Aston*, Lord *Cromwell* of *Wingfield*, Lord *Lowestoft* of *Worsop*, Lord *Furnivall* of *Sheffield*, Lord *Fauconbridge*, Knight of the most noble orders of *Saint George*, *Saint Michael*, and the golden Fleece, great Marshall to King *Henry* the sixth of his Realme of *France*, who was slaine at *Chatillon*, 1453.

The Earle of *Kendall*, the Lords *Mountferrat*, *Rosayne*, and *Dangladas*, entred into the Castle of *Chattillon*, which they made good against the French, by the space of ten dayes, and then upon hope of succour, delivered it upon composition, to have liberty to depart to *Burdeux*. Now the tyde turned againe, the *Gascoynes* levitie, being as ready to open the gates to the French, as they were but little before to the English, by meanes whereof, in short time the French recovered againe all *Gascoyne*, except *Burdeux*, which the French King in person layeth siege unto, and at length hath it furtrendred

An.  
1452.  
R.29.

*Shrewsbury* with his fourth son and his naturall brother slaine at *Chattillon*.

1453.

An.  
1453.  
R.30.

The  
Queene de-  
livered of  
a Sonne.

upon condition that both garrisons and inhabitants with all their substance, might safely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords *Lespar* and *Durant*, with thirtie others, whose names were expressed, upon paine of death, should never after be found in the territories of *France*: the neglect of which oath, within few years after, caused *Lespar* to leave his head behind him there, whilst the rest in safety came to *England*. This losse of *Aquitane* was palliated by the happy delivery of the Queen of a Sonne, who was Christened *Edward*.

The King and the Dukes beginning to bandy one against the other, gave a beginning to that faction, whose end was not procured without the deplorable losse of so many thousand Englishmen; and now, as a *Preludium* to that tragedy, upon St. *Bartholmewes* day, an ancient custome being, that the Maior of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present, in giving prizes to the best Wraflers, at the wrafling place neere *More-fields*. The Prior of St. *Johns* being there to see the sport, a servant of his not brooking the disgrace, to be foyled before his Master, against the custome of the place, would have wraflled againe, and with foule language provoked the Victor; but one bad word begat another, and from foule words, they fell to fouler blowes: The Maior observing the mover, to be the Priors servant, not only commanded the Kings peace in generall to be observed; but perceiving by the Priors countenance, that he did abet his servants insolency, he commanded *Richard Ally*, one of the Sheriffs, to lay hold upon the Priors servant, who did so, and delivered him to one of his officers; from whom by the Priors servants, and others their partakers, the prisoner was in danger to be rescued, so as the Sheriffe craved assistance of the Maior, who with his brethren, and officers, and servants, valiantly assisted the Sheriffe in the execution of his office; whilst the Prior hasted to St. *Johns*, from whence, and *Clerkenwell*, he under the guide of one *Callice*, a desperate swaggerer, sent a number of Bow-men to resist the Maior; upon whose approach, great bloodshed, and some slaughter was committed; the Majors cap was shot thorow with an arrow, he neverthelesse courageously did his devoire, in encouraging the Citizens, and apprehending some of the mutiners, whom he sent to *Newgate*, and put the rest to flight; which being done, he commeth to his Pavilion, and would have had the sports goe on, but the Wraflers were out of breath, or hurt, so that none came; neverthelesse, Sir *John Norman* the Maior told his brethren, that he would stay a while to make tryall of the Citizens respect towards him; for if they came to his rescue, though it needed not, yet they would expresse their love; or their neglect, if otherwise: He had no sooner said so, when the Citizens, with Banners displayed, came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. This was that Maior which first began to goe by water to *Westminster*, to take his oath in that manner as is at this day used, whereas before that time they used to goe by land. This Maior againe was troubled by the Sanctuary men of St. *Martins*, which not without some bloodshed, and a great deale of industry on his part, was with the publike punishment of some of the Ringleaders appeased.

Norman  
the first  
Lord Mai-  
or that  
went by  
water to  
*Westmin-  
ster* to take  
his oath.

The  
Queenes  
Attorney  
with o-  
thers slain  
in a fray.

But upon the neck of that began the quarrell in *Holborn*, betwixt the Gentlemen of the Innes of Chancery and some Citizens; in appeasing of which, the Queenes Attorney and three more were slaine. But these were but Peccadelloes to the deformities made in civill societies, by civill dissentions the yeare following. For now began the spark that fell into the bundell of flax at *Somerse*s going Regent into *France*, to flame out.

For



For first, *York* by all means laboureth to stirre up the hatred of the Commons against *Somerset*, inculcating in their eares, (who are apt enough upon losses in warres, to accuse the Leaders of some crime of neglect or other) what dishonour *England* sustained by *Somersets* dishonourable giving over, by composition, the strong Townes of *Normandy*; to these he addeth favour with the King and Queene, which he imployeth, saith he, to his own gaine, and the Commons grieve; and so having anticipated with his speeches their apprehensions, he addresseth himselfe to those of the Nobilitie, that could not well brook the too much commanding power of *Somerset*; over the King and Queens affections; for what he told the Queene was beleaved, and what shee told the King must be true; amongst others, the Duke of *York* fasteneth upon the two *Nevills*, both *Richards*, the Father and the sonne; the one Earle of *Salisbury*, the other Earle of *Warwick*. The Earle of *Salisbury*, was second sonne of *Ralph Nevill* Earle of *Westmerland*, whose Daughtier the Duke of *York* had married. And this *Richard* was married to *Alice* Daughter and only heire of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, slaine in *France*, with these he deales so effectually, that an undissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them, by whose assistance the King lying dangerously sick at *Clarendon*, the Duke of *Somerset* is arrested in the Queenes great Chamber of treason, and sent to keep his Christmasse in the Tower, and a Session of Parliament at *Westminster* now convoked, *Somerset* is appeached of treason; and many hainous crimes objected; but the King (though weake) is brought to *London*, to dissolve the Parliament.

After which the Duke of *Somerset* is againe set at libertie, which more incenseth the Duke of *Yorks* choler, and inciteth others more to be cholerick, and the rather, for that *Somerset* in stead of receiving of punishment, for the losse of *Normandy*, is entrusted with the sole remainder of our interest in *France*, and preferred to be Captaine thereof, to lose that too, (say his enemies) and undoe the whole Common-wealth.

They assemble a great power, and therewith march towards *London*. The King being assured, it was no good policy to suffer the Duke to approach *London*, wherein he had (by his long practises) got no small party, resolves to stop him on the way, and accompanied with the Duke of *Somerset*, and attended by the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Sonne, both named *Humphry*: *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *James* Earle of *Wilts*, *Jasper* Earle of *Penbrook*, and two thousand fighting men, march forward, both Armies meet at *St. Albones*. The Duke and the Lords encamp without the Towne in a place called *Keyfield*. The King pitched his Standard in a place called *Gesefflow*; the Lord *Clifford* kept the end of the towne, which he barcadoed. The Duke in the morning sent a Letter unto the King, stuff with many protestations of fidelitie and sinceritie, offering to give testimony thereof in any thing, so please his Majesty, to give due punishment to those that have abused his favour, and dishonoured the Realme, and that so bewitched him (especially the Duke of *Somerset*) that nothing his loyall subjects can either say or doe, can make him give credence to their true relations against *Somerset*; the delivery of him into their hands, to stand or fall by the judgement of his Peeres, is all they desire, and that they will have, or die in the pursuit.

The King for answer commands them to disband, and submit to his mercy, and not expect any in his Army to be delivered to their wills; for he will rather lose his life, than any should be wronged for their loves that were with him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who afore resol-

Ann.  
1453.  
R. 30.

The Duke  
of *York*  
writeth to  
the King.

An.  
1454.  
Reg.  
33.  
First bat-  
tell at St.  
Albones.  
The Duke  
of Sumer-  
set slaine.

1455.

ved, and now prepared, fell every one to his quarter: the Earle of *Warwick*, with his March-men, fell upon the Lord *Cliffords* quarter, driving downe all before them; for that wanting roome to use their weapons, the Kings partie was much disadvantaged; the Duke of *Somerset* hasting to the rescue, was slaine; and with him the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Humphry* Earle of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thousand. The Kings Army being increased after his coming forth, to eight thousand, but now they are all dispersed and slaine; and the King unguarded, left in a poore thatched house, whither to be freed from the arrowes flying, he had withdrawn himselfe. The Duke of *York* having notice where the King was, comes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who all three present themselves upon their knees before him, making humble petition unto him for pardon for what was past; for now since that the common enemy was slaine, they had what they aimed at; to whom the King, throughly affrighted, said, Let there be no more killing then, and I will doe what you will have me. The Duke therefore in the Kings name, commands a surcease from further hostilitie, and so comforting the King, in what he could, with good words, he went to take order for the quartering his men. This first battell of *Saint Albones*, was fought upon the three and twentieth day of May, in the three and thirtieth yeare of King *Henry's* Reigne. The bodies of the Noble men, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, were buried in the Chappell there. Had it not been *Somersets* unhappinesse to stand in the eye of *York*, or to live in that age, when all actions were accounted of, according to the event; this *Somerset* might have been ranked amongst the best Commanders of those times; but his ambition at first crost *York* in all his designs, so *Yorks* malice at the last did him a courtesie, to take him hence before the calamities of this Kingdome, were swolne to their full extent.

He married *Eliana*, one of the Daughters, and Heire of *Richard Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwick*, and had issue by her, foure Sonnes and five Daughters.

*Henry* who succeeded him in the Dukedome:  
*Edmond* who succeeded his brother therein; *John*, and *Thomas*.

*Eliana* his eldest Daughter was first married to *James* Earle of *Wiltshire*; and after to Sir *Robert Spencer*.

*Jane* was married to the Lord *Howe* of *Ireland*; and after to Sir *Richard Fry* Knight.

*Anne* was married to Sir *William Paston* Knight.

*Margaret* was first married to *Humphry* Earle of *Stafford*, and after to Sir *Richard Dorell* Knight.

And *Elizabeth* was married to Sir *Henry Lewis*; all which to the last breath continued firme and faithfull to the *Lancastrian* Familie.

*Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Earle of *Northumberland* now slaine, married *Eliana* Daughter of *Ralph Nevill*, first Earle of *Westmerland*: and had issue, *Henry*, that did succeed him in the Earledome, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *William* Bishop of *Carlisle*.

*Anne* married to *Thomas* Lord *Hungerford*.

*Katherine* was Wife to *Edmond* Gray, Earle of *Kent*, and

*Elizabeth* married to *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*.

*Humphry* Earle of *Stafford*, married *Margaret*, Sister and coheire of *Edmond Beauford*; Duke of *Somerset*, who had issue, *Henry* *Stafford*, who succeeded his Grandfather in the Dukedome of *Buckingham*.

bay

The

The Duke of York with all befitting complements, conveyeth the King to London, where they keep the Feast of Pentecost together, and in the meane time a Parliament is summoned at Westminster, to begin the ninth day of July; whither the King cometh, and there it is enacted, that the late Duke of Gloucester should be declared publicly a loyall subject, both to the King and Realme; and that none should misreport, or dispute the actions of the Duke of York, or any in his company: For that they had like good subjects, enterprised nothing, but what was for the Kings safety.

In this Parliament the Duke of York is made Protector of the Kings royall Person, and of the Realme; the Earle of Salisbury Lord Chancelour, and the Earle of Warwick Captaine of Callice: The former two have the administration of all civill government of the Common-weale at home; and upon the third is conferred, the disposing of all Militarie affaires abroad. Their demeanours in their severall places, were iudged unblameable, for with that respective moderation, and orderly proceedings, they managed their affaires, that they shewed no injustice, used no bribery, exercised no oppression, but practised indifferencie to poore and rich, to their great commendation.

But all this while, the high spirited Queen cannot but distaste their proceedings, she puts the Duke of Buckingham in minde (as though his revenge were slow and sleepe) that these traitours had slaine that noble Gentleman and hopefull sonne of his at Saint Albones; she tells the now Duke of Somerset, that there his deere Father fell, and both retort to the Queene, the unsufferable indignitie done to her, in making her Husband a Whitsontide lord, only a King in name, whilst the Duke of York and his complices must manage all: what needs spurres to willing minds, or provocations to rage throughly incensed? all are apt enough to revenge, But the curst Cow hath short hornes; envy must invent, and malice execute the course of revenge, a womans wit throughly stung with disgrace, and vily stird with despaire, cannot long be undelivered, of some plot to doe mischief.

All the enemies of the York faction (for now the divell began to deale his almes, and to make a faction) are assembled by the Queene at Greenwich; where it is amongst them debated, what course is fittest to bee used, for restitution of the King to his pristine liberty and government; at length it is concluded, that the Protector should bee commanded to leave off his place of Protectorship, and the Earle of Salisbury his Chancellours place; the one in respect the King was of yeeres, and discretion sufficient, without a Tutor or Guardian, to rule and reigne, and therefore a Protectors place needlesse; and the Earle of Salisbury to surrender his title of being Lord Chancellour, for that the great Seale was never delivered unto him; and that that which was now used, was made since the Kings restraint of liberty, and so not sufficient. The Kings easie yeelding condition is quickly wrought upon, to countenance their proceedings against the Duke and Earle; and thereupon in his name, they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appeare at the Councell table at Greenwich; whither if they had been so forgerfull as to have gone, they had been entrapped; but they better advised, returned answer, That none had power either to displace them, or command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament: and so they continued about London, placing their friends and fauours, in all places of government, and displacing others whom they either not affected, or had cause to suspect; and with a transwirate authoritie, they tooke

1455.  
R. 3.  
The Duke  
of York  
conveyeth  
the King  
to London.

York made  
Protector  
of the  
King.



Ann.  
1455.  
R. 33.

The  
Merchant  
strangers  
rified.

An inva-  
sion at-  
tempted  
by the  
French.  
*Sandwich*  
plundered.  
The Scots  
make an  
inroad.

The Sher-  
iffs of  
*London*  
in trouble  
for the escape  
of the  
Lord *Egri-  
mond*.

took *John Holland Earle of Excester* out of the Sanctuary, and sent him prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious Commons, to take hold of any occasion for a commotion. And thereupon an *Italian Merchant* being by a *Mercers Appretice* reprehended for wearing a dagger, contrary to the lawes of their own country, gave disdainfull speeches, which moved the English man to take his dagger from him, and to break it over his coxcomb; hereof the Merchant complaineth to the Maior; the Mercer is convented and committed; the Maior in his return, is met by divers, terming themselves Prentices, that would not be perswaded to depart, untill the Mercer was sent for out of *Newgate*, who now being at liberty, drawes divers (willing enough of themselves to go) to spoyle the strangers about *London*, and ransack their houses; wherewith like furious mad bedlam men they rified, and robbed the outlandish Merchants in all places of the Citie, doing them much mischief, and committing many outrages. The Maior to suppress these enormous courses, assembleth a company of honest and substantiall Citizens, who with good discretion, but not without some blood-shed, appeased their rage, and quieted the many, whilst the ringleader (which more for revenge of his commitment to *Newgate*, than any desire to enrich himselfe with their spoile) got himselfe to *westminster*, and there taketh Sanctuary. The Councell being advertised of this misdeameour, sent the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Queens direction, with Commission to enquire, and punish these offences. But when the Maior and the Commissioners were set, tidings came, that the Commons were up in armes, to stop all proceedings against any of those offenders; the Commissioners thereupon, well knowing how distasteful their Commission would be to the multitude, when thereby the Maiors power should be abridged, and the government of the Citie questioned, departed and left the businesse to be proceeded in by the Maior and his Brethren, who with great care and much industry so managed things, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fines and imprisonment, and all things quieted and well ordered.

The French in this time of uncivill dissensions, manned out two Fleets, whereof one under the conduct of *William Lord Pomyers*; the other of Sir *Peter Bressy*, went Eastward and Westward, the Lord fell upon *Fulnay*, and burning certaine houses, soone retyred; the Knight spoyled *Sandwich*, the people for feare of the plague (which mightily raged there) being fled from thence, but with no great booty or harme done, returned.

The Scots under colour and countenance of their Kings presence, came into *Northumberland*, burning and spoiling the Borders, but hearing of the Duke of *Yorks* approach, retired; *Thomas Piercy Lord Egrimond*, one of the younger sonnes of the Earle of *Northumberland*, had a great conflict with the Earle of *Salisburies* Sonnes, in which many were slaine; But the Lord was taken, and brought before the Councell, by whom hee was committed to *Newgate*, and deeply fined; but he escaped with many other prisoners, to the great trouble of the Sheriffes of *London*. Whilst the Duke of *York* was absent for repelling the rebellious Scots in the North, the King went to *Greenwich* to the Queen, who perswaded him for his health and recreation, as she alleaged, (but her drift was, for that shee found by experience, that the Duke of *York* was more favoured, and his favourites respected about *London*, then either she or the King, so that it was in vaine to attempt any thing against him there; yet something must be done against him,

or else she should be undone) to take his Progresse Northward into *Warwickshire*, which he did; by the way hawking and hunting, the Queen making shew of minding nothing but pastimes, had caused private Letters under the Kings privie Signet, in most loving termes to be sent unto the three Lords, whereby they were earnestly solicited, by an houre appointed to be at *Coven-try*, which they reverently intended. But by the way they have true information of the mischief plotted against them, & so warily by flight, but not without some danger, escaped; for they causing their Stewards with their retinue to go forward on the way to the Court, whilst the Duke of *York*, but with a Groome and a Page, sped him to *Wigmore* Castle; the Earle of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middelham* in the North; and the Earle of *Warwick* to the Sea-side, and so to *Callice*; but before they departed, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have entercourse of letters, which though intercepted, yet their intentions might be kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this intended mischief against the Duke of *York* and his friends, returneth to *London*; whither he calleth a Councell, and therein of his owne accord, desireth some course to be invented for the banishing of rancor and malice out of the hearts of his Nobilitie; and to the end he might have the glory of the reconciliation, though themselves the good, he promised on his salvation, a thing unusuall with him so to assevere, so to entertaine the Duke of *York* and his friends, that all discontents and injuries should bee outwardly respectively forgotten, and inwardly religiously forgiven, and perpetuall love and amirie on all parties established; to this end, Messengers are dispatched to the Duke of *York*, and all other of what rank soever worthy notice to bee taken off, which since the bartell of *Saint Albones*, had expressed themselves to be displeased on either part; commanding them for urgent affaires of the Realme, and upon royall promise of safe conduct, to repaire to his Court at *London*, at a time appointed. The Duke of *York* having intimated to his Confederates his resolution, and given them admonition to provide for prevention of wrong, observantly came, and with foure hundred men well appointed, lodged at his house called *Bainards* Castle. The Earle of *Salisbury* with five hundred men likewise lodged at his house called the *Herbor*; the Dukes of *Excester* and *Somerset* (lately released) with eight hundred men were lodged without *Temple Barre*. The Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with fiftene hundred men were lodged in *Holborne*; the Earle of *Warwick* with six hundred in red Jackets with ragged staves, embroydered behind and before, were lodged at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. Vpon the seventeenth of March, the King and Queene came to *London*, and were lodged at the Bishops Pallace. The Maior like a provident Magistrate, commanded every Alderman in his Aldermanry to keep a standing watch in armes both by day and night, himselfe having fivethousand well appointed men in readinesse upon any occasion, rode with a competent number all day long round the Citie for preservation of the Kings peace on all sides. The Lords lodging within the Citie, held their Councell at *Black-Friers*; the others, at the Chapter house at *Westminster*. Betweene both, the reverent Archbishop of *Canterbury* the sonne of *Henry Bouchier* Earle of *Essex*, a man every way compleat without exception, with some such Prelates, of whose modest condition and learning hee had made experience, did diligently intercede, and so effectually laboured, that both sides by his mediation were well contented to come to Communica-

An.  
1455.  
R: 33.

The Duke  
of *York*  
with the  
Earles of  
*Salisbury*  
and *War-*  
*wick* be-  
take them-  
selves to  
their se-  
veral  
strengths.

tion:

Ann.

1455.

R.33.

The Generall agreement amongst the Nobilitie, by the mediation of the King.

tion: the successe whereof was good, for that after much conference (the wisdom of the indifferent being such, that all repetitions of wrongs on either side done, should be forborne) it was finally concluded, that all wrongs, injuries, and misdemeanors, on every side, should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the Commands of the King. And by their further consent, the Duke of *York*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, should assure forty five pounds *per annum*, to the Abby of Saint *Albones*, for obites and ceremonious suffrages of the Church (at that time usuall) for the benefit of the soules of all such as were slaine and buried at Saint *Albones*. And that those there slaine, should be reputed and taken in an equall degree of loyall subjects, with those that survived of the adverse part.

That the Duke of *York* should give to *Eliana*, Dowager of *Somerset*, and *Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, her sonne, an assignement of five thousand marks, due to him from the King at his being in *Ireland*, to be distributed amongst her Children.

That the Earle of *Warwick* should likewise assigne a thousand Markes due to him from the King, to be distributed amongst the children of the late Duke of *Somerset*.

That whereas *Thomas Piercy* Lord *Egrimond*, and *Richard Piercy*, sonnes of the Countesse of *Northumberland*, were at a Sessions in *Yorkshire* fined at divers great summes of money, to the Earle of *Salisbury* his wife and children. And that the said Lord *Egrimond* was for payment thereof committed to the prison, from whence hee escaped, for whose escape *Verney* and *Steward*, Sheriffs of *London*, were sued. That the said Earle should acquite all those fines, to the said Lord *Egrimond* and his brother, and release all actions to the said late Sheriffs.

That the said Lord *Egrimond* should ever enter into recognizance of ten thousand pounds in the Chancery, to keep the peace against the Earle of *Salisbury* his Ladies children, servants and tenants.

That the Generall releases on all parts should be made of all Appeales, and personall actions whatsoever.

That the two Lords chiefe Justices should heare and determine any debates and controversies that might casually arise, for any thing formerly done amongst the tenants, or servants of either partie, without further proceedings.

That the recognizances to be entred into of all hands, for the performance of this award, should stand of force, without pardoning or parceling the summes.

This award, order and agreement, was ratified under the Great Seale of *England*, the foure and twentieth day of *March*, in the six and thirtieth yeere of the Reigne of King *Henry* the sixth.

Ann.

1456.

Upon the publication wherof at the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady *S. Mary* the Virgin, a solemn procession was made in the Cathedrall of *Pauls*. At which the King was present in royall habit, wearing his Crowne Imperiall, before him hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Excester* and the Earle of *Warwick*, and so one of one, and another of the other part, till they were all Marshalled, behind the King came the Queene, the Duke of *York* leading her by the hand: who in going, made shew of favourable countenance towards him; service ended, they return as afore to the Court, in all outward apparance truly



truly reconciled. But the apparance of the blazing Starre, the strange apparitions in the Elements, the more strange sight of a seeming monstrous Cock, to come out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people, at Portland, to make a hideous crowing, three times, each time turning about clapping his wings, and beckening towards the *North*, the *South*, and the *West*, with many prodigious births, did but preface the admirable occurrences of things this yeere following. In which, as if with a generall deluge of civil dissention, the whole Christian world should be overthrowne; beside, the rent in the Church by the schisme of many Popes. No Countrey being free from rebellions, or factions; subjects against their King, the brother against the brother, the sonne against the father, the wife against the husbands sonne.

For example, desire of rule (saith the Spanish Historian) being an affection of a greater magnanimous nature, did so farre possesse Prince *Charles*, sonne of *Henry* the fourth, King of *Castile*, that he opposed his father; against whom his mother-in-law took armes, in defence of King *Henry* her husband; from which pernicious quarrell, which proved successe, to the same did spring the two factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, which for many yeeres together infested *Navarre* and *Leon*, and was the cause of effusion of much Christian blood.

The *Gauntioys* rebell against the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who being succoured by the *Hollanders*, routs their forces, and makes a great slaughter amongst them; and *Charles* the seventh, sends the Earle of *Dampmurtyn* in a miserable employment (saith the French Historian) against the *Dolphin*, who was in armes against his father, whom they enforce to flie to the Duke of *Burgoyne*; who about that time to make his bastard, Bishop of *Urich*, had committed much slaughter amongst the *Brabanters*, and raised his sonne a staire of slaughtered carcasses to mount into the Bishops Chaire.

More Popes than one bred disorder, the great scandall in Religion and prejudice of Christians. The Emperour not being able to cure the infirmities of the mind by force, hath recourse to the authoritie of the Church, he intimateth to all the Kings and Potentates of Christendome, his desire to have a generall Councell at *Constance*, to whichall consent; and the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trapisond*, with the Churches of *Greece*, send Embassadors.

In the Councell *John* the 23. is convented, condemned, deposed and imprisoned; *Gregory* the 12. and *Benedict* the 13. are deprived, and *Otho Colom*, by the name of *Martin* the 15. is choson Pope by the Councell. Somewhat before this time in *England*, *John wickliffe*, and *John Husse* in *Bohemia*, had so perswaded, that divers were ready to disclaime the Popes authoritie, teaching them not only to leave the abuse of manners, but the doctrine it selfe; affirming that it was lawfull for subjects to reforme Religion, when Princes refuse to doe it; but their dangerous opinions were condemned for heresies. The Councell ended, but the schisme continued, and during these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern parts are utterly ruinated, the Emperour smothered to death in a prease of people, and *Constantinople* made the Seat of the *Mahometan* Emperour.

An affray unfortunately falleth out betwixt a servant of the Earle of *Warwicks*, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded. The Earles man flyeth. The Kings servants, seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earles coming from the Councell Table, and

An.  
1458.  
R.34.  
Strange  
apparitions.

Sonne  
against  
father.

1459.  
Subjects  
against  
Sovereigns.  
Father against Son.

A fray.

Ann.  
1459.  
R. 34.

Three  
great Car-  
racks ta-  
ken worth  
10000*l*.

2 Battels  
fought.

The Lord  
Audley  
slaine.

and assaile him: many are hurt, the Earle getteth a wherry, and so escapeth to London. The Queen incontinently commands him to be committed to the Tower; but he seeing where it began to raine in at, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his father, of all the occurrences, with the palpable discovery of the Queenes cankred disposition, advising them to stand upon their guard, and to provide to keep out the approaching storme; and so speeds to *Callice*. And being then Lord Admirall, to prevent revocation of that office, he speeds himselfe to sea with all the Kings ships that were in readinesse, and scoureth the Seas, meets with five great Carracks, three of *Genoa*, and two of *Spaine*, and after two dayes fight, takes three of them; with which he returneth to *Callice*, where hee discharged their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple Commodities, besides the ships and prisoners. In the meane time, as it was before agreed upon, the Earle of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to passe that way to the King, and to acquaint him with the affront offered to his sonne, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queene against him. The Queene, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, gave order unto the Lord *Audley* to apprehend *Salisbury*, sending to him (as to that end shee had provided many badges of a white Swan for a publick expression of being firme to her and her sonne) one badge thereof for himselfe, and divers other to bestow on such well deservers, as should by him be approved of; whereupon he levieth, of *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, ten thousand men, with which about a mile from *Drayon*, in a plaine called *Blore-beath*, he attended the Earle, there being a small brook but of some depth between them.

Early in the morning, the Earle made a seeming retreat, which the Lord *Audley* observing, he presently causeth his troopes to passe the river; but before they could bee reduced againe in order, the Earle with his whole strength falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had past the river, he discomfited the residue: there were slaine about foure and twenty hundred of them. Sir *John*, and Sir *Thomas Nevill*, Knights, the Earles sonnes, are sore wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*. But upon a message sent from the Marchmen, their keepers quickly released them.

The Duke of *York* now begins to resent these proceedings, and resolveth no longer to be looker on, but like a free gamester, to venter a Cast for all; he levies men, makes preparation to take the field, sends to *Salisbury* to do the like; who sends to *Warwick*, and all resolve to set up their rest. Amongst others of approved valiancy that *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principall noted men for direction and policy, *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*. The armie in the marches of *Wales* neere *Shropshire* are strongly encamped. The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Excester*, the chiefe of the *Lancastrian* Family, draw their forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury* is sent, to offer the *Torkists* a full and generall pardon, if they would give over this enterprize, and become loyall subjects: this message was answered, that there was no trust in the Kings pardons as long as the hen crowed, therefore they durst not submit unto them: but if any course might be given them, of assurance of their safety, they would expresse their loyaltie, and render themselves at his service. The King thereupon advanceth neerer, and approaching the

the Lords Army, he causeth Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of *York*, should be received to mercy, and have pardon; whereupon the night following, *Andrew Trollop*, with all the *Callicians*, submit to the King, and by him are all the counsels of the Duke of *York* discovered, which so much discouraged the Duke of *York*, that he, with his young sonne the Earle of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, then into *Ireland*: the Earles of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, got into *Devonshire*, where, by the meanes of *John Dinham*, they were shipt from *Exmouth* to *Gernsey*, and so to *Callice*, where they were well entertained. The King pardons all the common souldiers, makes some exemplary punishment of few of the Captains, sendeth the Dutchesse of *York* and her two younger children to the Dutchesse of *Buckingham* her sister, to be safely kept; and then, having spoyled the Towne and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismiss his Army.

A Parliament is convoked at *Coventry*, in which, amongst other things, the Duke of *York* and all his confederates are convict of treason, and all their lands and goods seized on to the Kings use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, the inheritour with his fortunes of his Fathers favour with the Queene, by her means is made Captaine of *Callice*, whither, comming to take possession of his new charge, he was forced to retire out of the harbour, the Ordnance from *Ricebank* playing so hot upon him.

The Queen herewith much incensed, in heat of passion giveth order to furnish and make ready all the Kings ships lying at *Sandwich*, to give assistance to *Somerset*; but the before-mentioned *John Dinham*, with his Western Mariners, who all well affected the Earle of *March*, boarded those ships in the harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, who was designed Admirall for that service, and carried both him and the ships to *Callice*; from whence the Earle sayled to *Ireland* to the Duke of *York*, where having conferred, and concluded what course to take, he returned to *Callice* (the new Admirall the Duke of *Exceter* not daring to stop his course in his returne.)

Sir *Simon Monsford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-ports, having divers ships under his command, to bar the Earle of *Warwicks* entrance; but the Earle by his espials having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his ships were full ready, took him prisoner, ranfackt the Towne of *Sandwich*, and carried his prisoner and his ships to *Callice*; by the way he understood, how much the Kentish-men desired his speedy returne, and to come on shore in their Countrey, where they were ready to give him all assistance. Whereupon the second time the Earle came to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham*, and divers Gentlemen, insomuch, that now they were 25000 strong, with which the Earle of *Warwick* marched towards *London*, against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to oppose, and with some convenient troops to assure *London*; but the Lord Maior utterly refused to admit him entrance; saying, he was able enough, without his counsell or help, to keep what the King had committed to his charge. Whereupon the Lord *Scales* resorted to the Tower, from whence afterward he did the *Londoners* many discourtesies. *Warwick* well pleased with the *Londoners* promise, not to impeach his passage, and having notice that his Father was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men, and without impeachment, joyned with his Father and his friends neere *Exceter*.

The King, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and neere unto the Towne of *Northampton* both

Q

Armies

Ann:  
1459.  
R.34.

The Duke  
of *York*  
flyeth.

A Parlia-  
ment.

The Earle  
of *Warwick*  
with 25000  
men, ra-  
keth the  
field.

Third Bat-  
tell at  
*Northamp-  
ton*.



Ann.  
1459.  
R.39.

Armies meet. The Earle of *March*, with the advice of the Earle of *Warwick*, prepares for the fight.

The Queen, (the King more intente of devotion than fighting) did the like. The fight began and continued on uncertain termes above two houres: In the meane time were slaine on both sides above ten thousand men. But upon the fall of *Humphry* Duke of *Buckingham*, by the good policy of the Earle of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Rushens* joyning with them, who led the Vantguard of the Kings part, withdrew to the Lords side, the Earles party prevailed, and *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egri-mond*, *John* Vicount *Beaumont*, and some others of mark, were slain.

This Duke *Humphry* married *Anne* Daughter of *Ralph Nevill*, Earle of *Westmerland*, and had issue, foure sonnes and three daughters; *Humphry* the eldest, slaine as afore, at *Saint Albones*, *John* Earle of *Wilts*, *Richard* dyed young, *Robert* Bishop of *Canterbury*; *Katherine*, married to *John* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Iane*, married first to *William* Lord *Bardolph*, then to Sir *William Knevet*; and *Anne*, married to *Aubry de Vere*, and after to Sir *Thomas Cobham*.

Vicount *Beaumont* married *Elizabeth* daughter and heire of *William Phillips* Lord *Bardolph*, who had issue, two sons and one daughter, *William* and *Henry*, who both dying without issue, left *Iane*, who was married to *John* Lord *Lovell*, to be their heire.

The Queen, with the Duke of *Somerset*, & some few others, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King was taken, and as a prisoner conveyed to *London*. At their comming thither, the Tower of *London* is yeelded unto the Earle of *Warwick*. The Lord *Scales* in disguised apparell endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Watermen, and by them without due course of Law, or orderly proceeding, beheaded, & his corps carelessly left upon the sands. *Tho. Thorp* one of the Barons of the Exchequer (upon whose advice the *Lancastrians* much relied) in the habit of a Monk, his crown shorn, purposely to fly to the Queen, is taken and committed prisoner to the Tower.

The Duke of *York* at this time being neither idle nor asleep, being advertised of this good successe, leaveth *Ireland*, and posts to *London*, where by the advice and consent of the *York* faction, he thought fit to discover the head of that ambitious serpent, that hitherto had been covered in the grasse of reformation; and so, that in the Kings name he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, in the presence of the Lords in the Upper-house, he placeth himselfe in the Imperiall seate, and with great courage and a confident brow, he layeth open his rightfull claim and Title to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and heire of *Anne*, Daughter and heire of *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Son and heire of *Philip*, the sole Daughter and heire of *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the third, & elder brother of *Io.* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the usurper *Henry* the fourth, Grand-Father to *Henry* the fift, who was Father to him that untruly stileth himself King *Henry* the sixt. He further related, that God had not blessed this unlawfull usurpation; for by means thereof the Common-wealth had suffered so many and so grievous calamities, that had not God been the more mercifull, the same had been overwhelmed by the multitude and grievousnesse thereof; that though *Henry* the fift had many conquests in *France* and *Normandy*, yet, as of ill-gotten possessions, his heire could not take any benefit by them. And how much heaven is at this time offended with his government, we may well feare if we but call to mind the cruell butchering of so many honourable great Lords, in defence of his title abroad; the slaughter of so many thousand of his loyall sub-  
jects

*Warwick*  
possess of  
the Tower.

The Duke  
of *York*  
puts in  
claime.

jects in maintenance of his quarrell, the inutterable exhaust of the treasure unnecessarily consumed in *France*, *Normandy*, and elsewhere. The civill broiles at home, the losse of all formerly got in *France*, and those parts; the losse occasioned by the excursion and depredations of the *Scots* and *French*. And lastly, the oppressions, extortions, and violence, daily unsufferably practised by the tyranny of an insolently ambitious woman, upon the meaner sort of people. And then concluded, that he craved no favour from them, except that justice did warrant his claime, nor would expect or desire the possession of the Crowne, except his descent were undisputable, and his Title without just exception; and for his own particular, he presumed, that since vertue might be as bold to challenge its due, as vice is apt to borrow of insinuation, he might without offence put in his claime, and demand allowance thereof.

This being a businesse of import, required deliberation, and mature consideration; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand by his agents prepared the Lords Spirituall, and few of the Nobilitie present, that were not on his part; the Burgeses were easily perswaded, and that was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly; That King *Henry* during his life should retain the name and honour of a King; That the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heire apparrant to the Crowne, and the Protector of the Kings person, his Land, Dominions, and Countrey; That if at any time, any of King *Henries* Friends, Allies, or Favorites, in his behalf, should attempt the disannulling of this act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crowne.

No sooner was the Parliament dissolved, when the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the Kings name, the Queene, the Dukes of *Somerfet* and *Exceter*, and all other of the Nobilitie that remained in that Kingdome, with all speed to repaire to his Presence to *London*. But they were otherwise resolved. And having gotten together of *English* and *Scots*, to the number of eightene thousand men, they marched into *England*. The Duke of *York*, with his younger Sonne, the Earle of *Rutland*, with the Earle of *Salisbury*, leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, marched towards the Queene; and approaching neere her Army at *Wakefield*, the Dukes Scouts being returned, certified him, that the enemy farre exceeded their power in number, and all warlike preparation. Whereupon the Earle of *Salisbury* advised the Duke to retire, and attend the comming of the Earle of *March*, who was gone into *Wales* to raise the *Marchmen*. But it being appointed, that here his ambitious desires should come to a period, the pride of his former victory, and overweening of his souldiers valours, made him deafe to all counsell of forbearing the field, and hastened on by his destiny, from *Sandall Castle* he marched to *Wakefield* greene, where the Lord *Clifford* on the one side, and the Earle of *Wilts* on the other, were placed in ambuscado. The Duke of *York* supposing that the Duke of *Somerfet*, who had the battell, had no more forces but what were with him, valiantly and in good order marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, the ambushes on both sides broke out upon him, and slew him, and three thousand of his side, the rest with number and confusion overborn, fled; the Earle of *Salisbury* is taken prisoner, and harmlesse *Rutland*, that came thither but to see fashions, is made a sacrifice for his Fathers transgression; and kneeling upon his knees (instructed by his infant feares) with teares begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge, as he sware, of his Fathers death. The Queene unwilling to be behind-hand in crueltie, as unlike a mercifull woman,

An.  
1459.  
R.39.

The Duke  
of *York* to  
be proclaimed  
heire to the  
Crowne,  
and Protector.

Fourth  
Battell at  
*Wakefield*.

Young  
*Rutland*  
butchered.

Ann.

1458.

R.34.

The Earle  
of Salisbury  
beheaded.

man, as he an honourable gentleman in cold blood, without due forme of tryall, causeth the Earle of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken prisoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle, and to have their heads, as it were, in scorne to be placed on poles about the walls of the Citie of *York*, an incitement, as it were, to make all interested in the shame, to adde spurrs to the speedy course of vindicative desires, and to draw on revenge to the uttermost.

This *Richard Nevill*, Earle of *Salisbury*, was third Sonne of *Ralph Nevill*, first Earle of *Westmerland*, by *Ioane* his second wife, daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*; he married *Elianor*, Daughter and heire of *Thomas Montague* Earle of *Salisbury*, and had issue, foure sonnes and six daughters.

1. *Richard* the eldest was restored, and succeeded in the Earldome.
2. *John* the second, was Created Marquesse *Mountague*.
3. *Thomas* married the Widow of the Lord *Willoughby*.
4. *George* was Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor.
1. *Ioane* the eldest Daughter, was married to *William Fitz-Allen* Earle of *Arundell*.

2. *Cecily* was married to *Henry Beauchamp* Duke of *Warwick*.
3. *Alice* was married to *Henry* Lord *Fitz-Hugh*.
4. *Elianor* to *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Darby*.
5. *Katherine* to *William Bonville*, Lord *Harrington*; and
6. *Margaret* to *John Vere* Earle of *Oxford*.

*Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, took to wife *Cecily*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevill*, first Earle of *Westmerland*, and had issue, eight Sonnes and foure Daughters.

1. His eldest Sonne *Henry* dyed young.
2. *Edward* afterwards King of *England*.
3. *Edmond* Earle of *Rutland*, slaine with his Father.
4. *John*
5. *William* } dyed young.
6. *Thomas* }
7. *George* after Duke of *Clarence*.
8. *Richard*, surnamed *Crouchback*, after King of *England*.

1. *Anne* his eldest Daughter, was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*.

2. *Elizabeth* married to *John de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolk*.
3. *Margaret* married to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*.
4. And *Yrsula*.

1461.

The Earle of *March* having tidings of his Fathers death, encreaseth his Army, and born up with two wings, desire of revenge and expectation to reigne, he took his leave at *Shrewsbury* of the Inhabitants, intimating to them at his departure, the murther of his Father and Brother, the destruction intended of himselfe and family, and downfall of all that wisht well to his part (if not heedfully prevented) he craved therefore their utmost assistance, and their neighbours, which they accordingly performed; and then with some good strength, presently took the field, and having advertisement that, *Jasparr* Earle of *Pembrook*, with the Earls of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, with a great power of *Welch* and *Irish*, did follow after him, he suddenly marcheth back againe, and in a Plaine neere *Mortimers* Crosse, on Candlemas day in the morning he gave them battell, and with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, put the Earles to flight. *Owen Teuther*, who had married *Queen Katherine*, Mother to *Henry* the sixth, and divers *Welch* Gentlemen were taken, and at *Hareford* beheaded.

Fist bat-  
tell at  
*Mortimers*  
Crosse.

The



The Queene, encouraged by the death of the Duke of *York*, with a power of Northern people, with an intent to undoe what was done in the last Parliament, marcheth towards *London*; but when her souldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if that River had been the utmost limits of their good behaviour, they did most licentiouslly forrage the Countrey, barrowing, burning, and spoiling the same, as if they had been in the most barbarous land of heathens. Approaching Saint *Albones*, they were advertised that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earle of *Warwick* were ready to give them battell. The Queenes Voward hasteth to passe thorow Saint *Albones*, but were saluted (from the Market place) with such a showre of arrowes, that they were for safeguard glad to retire, and sought to passe by another way, which (but not without some blowes) they did, and encountred with their enemies in the field; who perceiving the maine battell to stand, and not to move, by the trechery of *Lonelace*, who with the Kentishmen led the Voward, the Southern men turned aside and fled, and by the Northern prickers were slaughtered, unrill night saved their backs. When night was come, the residue, despairing of each others well-meaning, shifted away. The Nobles about the King perceiving how the game went, withdrew themselves. The Lord *Bonville* coming in a complementall manner to the King, saying, It grieved him to leave his Majestie, but necessitie for safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kiryell* likewise, by the King to stay, he passing his royall word, that their stay should not endanger their bodies; upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost; for such was the implacable fury of the Queen, that hearing Baron *Thorp* was by the Commons beheaded at *Highgate*, the day after the battell, being *Ashwednesday*, caused both their heads to be smitten off at *St. Albones*; whose death reckoned with the rest, maketh up of the slaughtered the number of three and twenty hundred.

The King was advised to send one *Thomas Hoe*, that had been a Barrester, to the Victors, to thank them for their pains, and to tell them that he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done. The Earle of *Northumberland* appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Cliffords* Tent, where the Queen and young Prince met him to their great joy; it was now observed, that victory alwayes fled from where the King was present. At the Queenes request, he honoured with the order of Knighthood, thirtie, that the day before fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight. Then they went to the Abbey, where they were entertained with Anthems, and withall, an humble Petition to be taken into the Kings protection, thereby to be freed from the tyranny of the loose souldiers; which was promised, and Proclamation accordingly made, but to small purpose; for the Northern men said, it was made in their bargaine, to have all the spoyle in every place, after they had passed the River of *Trent*, and so they robbed and spoiled all they could come at; which gave just cause of dislike to the indifferent-minded, which onely wisht the quiet, and peace of the Countrey, not respecting which Rose, the red or white, prevailed; for now began that distinction by those Badges, for the factions of *York* and *Lancaster* to be worne.

The *Londoners* hearing of this disorder, were warned to look to themselves, and they were resolved, since there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their gates. The gentleness and tenderness of a King, not accompanied with courage and severity, is both hurtfull to himselfe and his estate:

Ann.  
1461.  
R.34.

Sixth battell, and second at *S. Albones*.

The Lord *Bonville* & *Tho. Kiryell* beheaded by the Queene, contrary to the Kings promise,

Thirtie Knights made. Prince *Edward* dubbed knight

The families of *York* and *Lancaster* distinguished by the red Rose and white,

An.  
1458.  
R.34.

In the Kings name the *Londoners* are sent to, to send over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenton provision: The Maior accordingly provides, and makes all things ready; but the Commons rose about *Cripplegate*, and by strong hand, say or doe what the Maior or his Officers can, they kept the Carts from going forth of the Citie. The Maior sends the Recorder to the Kings Councill, and knowing the predominancy of the *Queenes* passion, if never so little troubled, they entreat the *Duchesse of Bedford* and the *Lady Scales*, with all the Fathers of the Church resident about *London*, to intercede for him, and excuse his not using force, considering how apt the multitude was to take fire upon the least flash, and how dangerous it might be in these doubtfull times, to raise their fury, that would not easily be allayed; it was well advised, to send women to entreat women, for they so prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Councill, with a guard of foure hundred good souldiers, were appointed to goe for *London*, to enquire and certifie the truth of these things. But before they set forth, divers Northern men, that long looked to have had the ransacking of *London*, came unto the gates, and would have entred, had not the Citizens valiantly repelled them, and with the slaughter of some three or foure, they were sent to carry word to the Camp, that the Earle of *March*, with a great Army was marching towards them; neither was it a fiction; for at *Chipping-Norton* by *Cotfall*, the Earle of *Warwick* having drawne together, as many of his scattered troops as he could finde, met with the Earle of *March*, and his victorious troopes, which being joyned, they hasted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of February; and upon Sunday the second of March, the Earle of *Warwick* mustered all his Army in *Saint Johns* fields; and having cast them in a ring, the Leader read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded whether they would have King *Henry* to reigne still; who all cryed, No, no; then they were askt whether they would have the Earle of *March*, eldest Sonne of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament, proclaimed King) to reigne over them, and with a great clamour they cryed, yea. Then went there certain Caprains, and others, of the Common Councill of the City, to the Earle of *March* to *Baynards Castle*, whom they acquainted with what was passed, whereof he expressed himselfe, in some termes, as unworthy of the place, and unable to execute it: yet he thanked God for the gift, and them for their good wills. And by the advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the animation of the Bishops of *London* and *Exceter*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, he resolved to take it upon him. And the next morning he went in Procession at *Pauls*, and offered there: and after *Te Deum* sung, he was with great royalty conveyed to *Westminster*, and there in the great Hall seated in the Kings seat, with the Scepter of *Saint Edward* in his hand. And then the people, (whereof there was a great concourse) were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King; to which with great willingnesse they cryed, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen then present, he was with Procession and great state conveyed to the Abbey there, and placed in the Quier as King, whilst *Te Deum* was singing; that done, he offered at *Saint Edwards* Shrine, and then returned by water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Bishops Pallace. Upon the fourth of March, he was generally proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the fourth.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
*Canterbury*  
animated  
the Duke  
of *York* to  
take upon  
him the  
Crowne.

THE



# THE LIFE AND REIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.



*EDWARD* Earle of *March*, borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Sonne and Heire of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *Tork*, by *Cecily Nevill*, Daughter of *Ralph* Earle of *Westmerland*, and *Ioan* Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, by Lady *Katherine Swinford*; upon the fourth day of *March*, rode in State to the Church of *Saint Paul* in *London*, and there made his Oblation: And after *Te Deum* sung, he was

with great solemnitie attended to *Westminster*, and there being placed in the great Hall, with the Scepter Royall in his hand, before a confluence of people there assembled, (well knowing with what bait to angle, to catch the many) hee makes a solemn declaration of his right to the Crowne of *England*, challenging it to belong unto him by a double Title.

The first, as Son and heire to *Richard* Duke of *Tork*, the rightfull Heire, of the same.

The second, as elected by Authority of Parliament, upon King *Henries* forfeit hereof. Nevertheless, he was resolved to wave both Title and Right, by either, except the people would willingly approve of his proceeding therein, and lovingly allow of his claime: Whereupon, it was againe publicly demanded of the Assembly, if they would unanimously admit, and acknowledge the said Earle, to bee their King and Soveraigne Lord, whereupon all with one voice cryed, Yea, yea, King *Edward*, King *Edward*: Thereupon he went from thence to *Westminster* Abbey, and entred the same with solemn Procession, and there as King offered; and afterward by the name of *Edward* the fourth, was proclaimed King, throughout the Citie of *London*.

In the meane time, King *Henry* in the North, was raising what powers he could to stop this Torrent: But the Earle of *March* (great in the favour of that great beast of many heads, the multitude) presuming of their ready willingness to assist him, makes preparation to encounter King *Henry*. To *Edward* resort men of all ages and condition, the one making tender of their persons, the other of their patrimonies, to be spent at his devotion, and for the support of his cause, by which meanes he suddenly was furnished, with a puissant and well accommodated army. And being perswaded that no other

meanes

An.  
1460.  
R.I.

The Dukes  
Title to  
the Crown  
double.



Ann.  
1460.  
R.2.

Edward  
leaveth  
London.

meanes would serve for direction of his claime, but the sword; he resolved to set up his rest, and by battell to give a certaine determination to the question.

Upon the twelfth of *March* his forces marched from *London*, and by easie journeys came to *Pomfret* Castle, where he rested; and from thence the Lord *Fitz-walter* with some companies was sent by him to guard the passage at *Ferry-brig*, to stop the enemies approach that way. King *Henry* likewise advanceth forward, and sends his power under the conduct of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*. Whilst himselfe, Queene, and sonne, stay at *York*.

Lord Fitz-  
walter  
slaine at  
Ferry-brig.

The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palme-Saterday* in the morning, with a troope of *Northern Prickers*, falls upon those that had the guard of the passage at *Ferry-brig*, and defeated them, with the slaughter of the Lord *Fitz-walter*, and the bastard of *Salisbury*.

The Earle of *Warwick* hearing of this defeate, posts to the Earle of *March* his Camp, and in his presence killing his horse, said, Sir I pray God have mercy on their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprife have for your love lost their lives. The enemy hath won the passage at *Ferry-brig*: There is no hope now but in God; yet let him flye, that will flye; when (kissing the crosse of his sword) hee said, by this good Signe I will stand by him that will stand by me, fall backe, fall edge.

1461.

The Earle of *March* no whit amated, but somewhat moved with *Warwicks* resolution, presently made Proclamation, that all such of his company, as were unwilling to stay, or afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart. But to those that would abide, he promised good reward. Adding withall, that if any that stayed, should after turn his back, or flee; that he that should kill such a changeling, should have double pay.

The Lord  
Clifford  
slaine.

Then gave he order to the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to lead on the *Voward*; who in their *March*, about *Dindingdale* encountered with the Lord *Clifford* (who formerly in cold blood had slaughtered the young Earle of *Rutland*) him, with *John* Lord *Nevill*, sonne and heire of the Earle of *Westmerland*, they slew, with most of their companies; putting the rest to flight.

The next day likewise (the Duke of *Norfolk* being dangerously sick, to whom that place was assigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the *Vanguard*; and on *Palme-Sunday* by break of day they came to *Saxton*, from whence they made a full survey of King *Henries* Army, and certified the Earle of *March*, that the enemy was threescore thousand strong: whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, That no quarter should be kept, nor prisoner taken (a course more favouring of policie than Religion,) yet by so much the more excusable, by how much his number was so farre short of his Adversary.

The Armies being both in sight, the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the bow-men, upon a signall by him to be given, to shoot every man a flight arrow (for that purpose provided) and then to fall back three strides and stand, which they accordingly did. The *Northern* men hereupon plied their bowes, untill their sheaves were empty, but all their arrowes fell short of the marke, and turned to their owne disadvantage: For their arrowes being spent, hasting to joyne to come to hand-blows, their owne arrowes did themselves much hurt, that had done the Adversary no harme at all: the nocks of those sticking, galling their shiannes; and the splinters of those

those broken, piercing their feet, whilst the Southern men shot at their bodies, as if they had been shooting at butts; policy prevailing beyond strength: ten houres in doubtfull termes of victory the battell continued. When the Earle of *Northumberland* being slaine, with the Lords, *Beaumont*, *Gray*, and *Dacres*; the Earles of *Exceiter*, and *Somerset* fled, left the conquest to the Earle of *March*, but the bloodiest that ever *England* felt; for on that day fell there thirty six thousand seven hundred threescore and sixtene persons, besides those that dyed of the hurts then received, all of one nation; no prisoners being taken but the Earle of *Devon*. This *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* now slaine, was the third Earle of the family of *Piercies*: he married *Elianor* Daughter and heire of *Richard* Lord *Poyning*, by whom he had issue:

*Henry*, that succeeded him in the Earldome, and three daughters.

*Elizabeth*, married to *Henry* Lord *Scroop*.

*Elianor*, married to *West* Lord *Laware*.

*Margaret*, married to Sir *William Gascoyne*.

The victor hastes to *York*, where he is readily admitted entrance, when presently he causeth the heads of his father, and his friends, to be taken downe and buried with their bodies; setting in their places the heads of the Earle of *Devon*, and three others, there then executed.

This Earle of *Devon* was *Thomas* the sixteenth Earle and Lord of *Ockhampton*; he married *Margaret* daughter of *John* *Bewford* Earle of *Somerset*, by whom he had issue three sonnes and two daughters.

*Thomas* who was taken with his father, and presently by reason of the Proclamation slaine.

*Henry* the second sonne, who was after beheaded at *Salisbury*; and

*John*, who was after slaine at *Temkesbury*.

The Father and the three sonnes, with the losse of their best bloods witnessing their true affection to the house of *Lancaster*,

*Joan* his eldest daughter, was married to Sir *Roger Clifford* Knight, and *Elizabeth* was married to Sir *Hugh Courtney* Knight.

The Earle of *Somerset* being the messenger of the late overthrow, perswades and prevailes with King *Henry*, his Queen, and Sonne, from *York* to flie to *Barwick*, where leaving the Earle of *Somerset*, they flie further for succour to the King of Scots, who comforteth them with promise of reliefe, but maketh a sure bargain, and receiveth in lieu of a pension, to bee assigned to King *Henry* during his aboad there, from him, upon Saint Marks day, the Towne and Castle of *Barwick*; to such poore shifts was this Potent King driven, to pawne his best fortreffe for bare food.

Queene *Margaret* and her sonne, are sent to *France* to labour there, whilst those that stayed with the King (himselfe being onely intente to devotion) failed not to sollicite friends, and make preparation for a second encounter.

The Queen upon her arrivall obtained of *Lewis* the eleventh her Cousin, that those of the house of *Torkes* favorities, were prohibited traffick, or stay in the French Kings dominions. But all such as loved the *Lacastrian* line were permitted freely.

In triumphant manner the Earle of *March* commeth to *London*, where he is by the Maior and Citizens gloriously entertained, being by them upon the 26. day of *Iune* from *Lambeth* attended to the Tower of *London*, who upon his first entrance therein, invested foure and twentie with

Ann.  
1461.  
R. 2.  
The Earle of Northumberland with 36776 English slaine at Caxton field.

An.

1461.

R. 2.

Edward  
the fourth  
Crowned.

An.

1462.

R. 3.

with order of Knighthood; and upon the next day he did the like to foure more.

Upon the 28. day of *June*, he rode through *London* from the Tower to *Westminster*, where he was Crowned in the Abbey there.

A Parliament is summoned, which began *Westminster* upon the fourth of *November*, in which all acts of *Henry* the sixth formerly made (which might seeme any way prejudiciall to *Edwards* Title or profit) were repealed. And therein *John Earle of Oxford*, a learned, valiant, and wise man, he who in a former Parliament disputed the question concerning the precedency betweene the temporall and spiritall Barons (a bold attempt in those dayes, and by force of whose arguments, judgement was given for the Lords temporall) with his sonne *Aubry de Vere*, Sir *Thomas Tiddinham* Knight, *William Terrill*, and *Walter Montgomery*, Esquires, were, without answer, convict of Treason, and beheaded.

This *John Earle of Oxford* married *Elizabeth* the daughter and heire of Sir *John Howard*, and had issue five sonnes and three daughters.

1 *Aubry de Vere*, beheaded with his father.

2 *John de Vere*, that succeeded in the Earldome.

3 *George Vere*, Knight, that died, living his father.

4 *Richard Vere*, and } Knights.

5 *Thomas Vere*,

1 *Mary*, a profest Nunne at *Barking* in *Essex*.

2 *Ioan*, married to Sir *William Norris*; and

3 *Elizabeth*, married to *William Bouchier*, sonne and heire of *Henry Bouchier Earle of Essex*.

An.

1463.

R. 4.

King *Edward*, to encourage others to obtaine like favour, by well deserving at his hands, after that he had created his two younger brethren, *George*, and *Richard*, the one Duke of *Clarence*, the other Duke of *Glocester*; he maketh *John Lord Nevill* first Vicount, then Marquesse *Montacute*.

*Henry Bouchier* (whose brother was Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Earle of *Essex*, and *William Lord Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, ennobling many others with dignities and honourable titles.

To hanfell their new Honours, *Essex*, and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, and divers other of the Nobility, with ten thousand souldiers are sent to scowre the narrow Seas: these land in *Britain*, and by force enter the Town of *Conquet*, and the *Ile of Ree*, which having pillaged, and the Coasts cleered, they return.

*Henry Duke of Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with some others, come in and submit themselves to King *Edwards* mercy; who graciously receiveth and entertaineth them, protesting his propension of free pardoning them, and as many others as would follow their example of submission.

The distressed Queen with five hundred French (a small stake to play an aftergame of Reputation with) came to the Coasts of *Scotland*, and from thence sailes to *Tinmoth*, where she went on shore, but speedily resorted againe to shipboord, and by tempest was beaten to *Berwick*: From whence, with the encrease of some few *Scots*, leaving the Prince at *Berwick*, shee, with the King her husband, marched into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, having by the way in *Northumberland* somewhat more encreased their Army. To their resorteth the so late reconciled, and now newly revolted Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, and divers of King *Henries* wel-wishers, who altogether made shew of a competent Army. But their disorderly burning and

*Conquet*  
and *Ree*  
taken, and  
pillag'd  
by the  
Earles of  
*Essex* and  
*Kent*.



and spoyling wherefoever they went, whatsoever they could come at, lost the good-will of many, and purchased the ill-will of more.

King Edward, to be prepared to meet the enemy at every turn, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; he sends *Vicount Montacute* into *Northumberland*, with Commission to raise forces, whom King Edward in person followeth with his whole power, leasurely, but hasts some Companies after the *Vicount*, to prevent any attempt of the Bishoprick men, in case they should prove treacherous; with these the *Vicount* marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountreth the Lord *Hungerford*, at *Hegley-More*; bur hee with the Lord *Rosse* upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Piercy* alone with his owne regiment, who there with them died valiantly fighting.

*Montacute* having intelligence that King Henry was encamped in *Levens* plaine, neer the River of *Dowell* in *Hexamsbire*, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp: The Northern men with a desperate resolution receive the charge; but were in the end, with great slaughter, overthrowen, *Henry Benford* Duke of *Somerset*, the Lord *Rose*, *Mollins*, *Hungerford*, *wentworth*, *Hussey*, and Sir *Iohn Findern* Knight, with many others are taken prisoners: King Henry escaped but very hardly.

The Duke of *Somerset* was presently beheaded at *Exham*; he was never married, but had a naturall sonne, named *Charles Somerset*, who was afterward created Earle of *Worcester*.

The other prisoners were sent to *New-castle*, and there beheaded. Thus was the white Rose in every place dyed red with the blood of the Nobility, and the red Rose turnd pale with the horror to view the calamities occasioned by this discention.

King Edward came to *Durham*, and from thence sent the Earle of *Warwick* and others into *Northumberland*, to reduce such Castles and Forts as yet held out for King Henry; which effected, King Edward marched to *York*; King Henry shifting from place to place, is at length discovered, and in the manner of a notorious offender, with his legges tide under the horse belly, without other company, than Doctor *Manning* Deane of *Windsor* (taken with him) is by the Earle of *Warwick* brought to the Tower of *London*: a sudden and strange alteration of estate, when he that was the most Potent Monarch, for Dominions, that ever *England* had, was not now the Master of a Mole-hill, nor owner of his owne liberty: so various are the changes and chances of this transitory life.

His distressed and disconsolate Queen, with her sonne, are driven once againe to flee for shelter into *France*.

King Edward, to raise some with ruine of others, distribureth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King Henry, amongst his own favourites and followers; having the better to palliate his proceeding therein, first made Proclamation, that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to grace, and restored to their patrimonies.

King Edward, having as it were a breathing from marriall employments, knowing that he was to deale with a people more easily to bee drawne, than driven, addicted his courses altogether to endear himselfe to their good affections; and the better to settle in their minds a good opinion of his after-government, he applied himselfe to accomplish those things, whereof report had given out his predecessors had beene neglective in. And first he began to set the beame even, that was to carrie the scale of Justice

Ann.  
1461.  
R.2.

Sir Ralph  
Piercy  
kaine.

The Earle  
of Somerset  
taken prisoner.

An.  
1462.  
R.3.

King Henry  
brought  
prisoner to  
the Tower.

Ann.  
1464.  
R.3.

The Earle  
of Warwick  
sent into  
France.

Justice in equall point of right, and to that end in *Michaelmas* terme, in the second yeere of his reign, three dayes together he sate publickly with his Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, on the Kings-bench, to acquaint himselfe with the orders of that Court, and the proceedings therein, and to observe what deserved reformation in that Court, either at bench or at barre. He likewise ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate fees, and to be more intentive of their duties, for the benefit of the subject, than their owne gaine; and not under colour of preserving the Kings revenewes, to enrich themselves, and undo the subjects, thereby wronging both King and people. Then he complies himselfe to the multitude, and publickly, with such extraordinary shewes of unusuall congies and complements from a Sovereigne, entertaines them, that he thereby ties their pliable tongues to set forth his uncessant commendation, drawing out their loves to the largest extent. He daily frequents the Councell Table; which he furnished for the most part with such as were most gracious among the Citizens, and were most facile, either to give dispatch, or Court holy water to petitioners. These he employes about references, and busineses of private consequence, whilst mysteries of state were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet Councell; with whom now he advieth, how to encrease his forraigne correspondence, and advance his estate, with some link of faire alliance with such that might stand him instead, and be a comfort or countenance in his proceedings, as occasion should fall out. For which purpose, the fittest meanes is concluded to be some match to be made with *France*, by which all meanes of succour might be withdrawn from his semall persecutor, Queen *Margarite*; and assistance drawn to persecute her husband, and such as should oppose his Sovereignty. For the better effecting whereof, the Earle of *Warwick* is made choice of, and employed by the King into *France*, to treat of a match betwixt King *Edward*, and the Lady *Bona*, daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and sister to the Lady *Carlote* Queene of *France*. Upon the first proposition, this motion was readily embraced, and was willingly assented unto on all parts; And *Monsieur Dampmoryn* with some others, are incontinently sent into *England*, for the full accomplishment thereof: but before his arrivall, the game is changed, and a new trump is turned. For upon the first of *May*, the King had taken to wife the Lady *Gray*, the widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, slaine at the last battell of *Saint Albons*, a *Lancastrian*; she was daughter of *Richard Woodwile*, Baron of *Wymington*, and *Iaquet* daughter of *Peter* of *Luxenborough* Earle of *Saint Paul*, the widow of *John* Duke of *Bedford*, sometimes Regent of *France*, a sharer with her daughter of troubles to ensue upon their marriage: for, as the marriage of the mother, gave the first cause of distaste to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, whose severing after from the English, was partly, if not principally, the overthrow of our Conquest in *France*; so this match of the daughter first alienated the heart of *Warwick* from the King, and gave the occasion of the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the downfall of the great *Beare* and all his ragged staves.

This marriage, at the command of *Love*, the Lord of Kings, was begun in heat of desire, & finished in hast, without advice of any but his own untamable affections: it much distasted the French King, displeased *K. Edwards* mother, and disquieted the Councell & State: & as it commonly falls out, when men ride post for such matches, in the end of their journey they take sorrow for their

their Inne, and make repentance their Host ; for speedy repentance follows precipitated haste in such affaires. But in the Kings marriage, and *Warwicks* distaste thereof, appeared different effects of unbridled passions. The fervor of the Kings desires are lessened, but the fire of the Earle of *Warwicks* rage every way and every day encreased, and flamed with greater fury, untill it consumed both him and his: yet for a while he covered the coales, and concealed the cause of his indignation; howsoever, now and then in private to his familiars, he would complaine, how much he was disgraced, to be made an instrument to set a young Lady a-gog for a husband, and then to have her disappointed. Upon his returne, he carried a faire countenance on the businesse, publicly approving the Kings choice, and commending the new Queens beauty, and naturall endowments, applauding whatsoever shee said or did. But privately he only awaited how to displease her, and displace her husband; wherein he was the more resolutely intentive, by how much he presumed the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who were interested in the disgrace, and the Queen and her sister *Bona*, which shared in the dishonourable affront, would be alwaies, as occasion should be offered, ready to second him with power and prayers, in any thing that to that end he should attempt. To have the more libertie to plot his designs, the Earle procures leave to leave the Court, and retires himselfe to his Castle of *Warwick*. King *Edward* in the mean time, having just cause to suspect the *French*, and his discretion prompting him to be watchfully valorous, to retain his but yet borrowed title, wisdom admonishing him in day of Sunshine to provide a cloak to prevent being wet, in case a storme should fall; thought it good policy, to strengthen himself by some befitting confederation abroad; and to that end entred into a league with *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, and *Henry* King of *Castile*, to whom he sent (for a present) a score of *Coisall* Ewes, and five Rams, which though they were but few in number, yet hath the losse that hath thereby redounded to *England* been too too great, yea more than he could then well imagine, and greater than the reader can *prima facie* apprehend; but great evils may grow out of small causes.

To secure himselfe at home, he took truce with the King of *Scots* for fifteen yeares: and as he had formerly married his two sisters, *Anne*, the eldest, to *Henry Holland* Earle of *Exceter*, and *Elizabeth* to *Iohn de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolk*; so now he matched *Margaret* the third sister, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*. This last match added oyle and flax, to quench the flame of *Warwicks* fury; insomuch, that now he gave it vent: And having, with much adoe, drawn to his part his two brothers, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Marquesse *Mountacute*, he now began to cast a windlace to draw in the Kings two brothers. The Duke of *Glocester* he found so reserved that he durst not close with him; but finding the Duke of *Clarence* more open, he addresseth himselfe to him: and taking occasion in private conference to complaine to him, of the Kings uncourteous usage of him, he said, Noble Sir, if I might be my own judge, my more than ordinary respect and diligence to doe the King your brother acceptable service, deserveth more than common courtesie, but all whatsoever I have done and doe (howsoever it hath been more than could any way come to my single share) for his advantage, is ever unrespectively drenched in the whirlpit of duty; for which I must be contented. To whom presently the Duke makes answer; Did or do you, expect, as to a friend, courtesie from him, that neglects the respect of blood to a loving brother? it is all little enough for him to provide, for to pleasure his deare

An.  
1464.  
R. 3.

An.  
1466.  
R. 5.



An.  
1466.  
R.6.  
Of Thomas  
Lord Scales  
of Nuclells.

Loves brave kindred, and all too little he bestowes on them; whilst he that lay in the same belly with him, must attend to be served with their leavings, or have nothing. Hath he not made a match between his wives brother *Anthony*, and the sole daughter of the Lord *Scales*? and hath he not married *Thomas* her son with the daughter and heire of the Lord *Bonville*? and likewise his minion the Lord *Hastings*, with the sole daughter and heire of the Lord *Hungerford*? But no such match can be thought of for me his brother. Nay, are not his brothers, and best friends, that have opposed our selves to all dangers, to abet his advancement, undervalued, and unregarded? have we not just occasion to be perswaded he loves us not? how then should you expect better dealings from him? The Earle finding the game comming, wanted not words to whet, nor reasons to incite to a settled distaste of his brothers unrespective carriage towards him; and prevailed, after much communication betwixt them, so far, that what he so much desired, he effected; for he converted the naturall current of brotherly affection, which afore ran in the veines of *Clarence*, to an unnaturall streame of rancor and disobedience against a Sovereigne. And now, the better to knit a firm knot of association betwixt them, a match is to be concluded upon, and the Duke is to take to wife *Isabell* the Earle of *Warwicks* daughter, and with her to have assured unto him halfe the lands which the Earle held in right of his wife, the Lady *Anne*, daughter of *Rich. Beauchamp*, Earle of *Warwick*, deceased. For the consummation whereof, *Clarence* accompanies *Warwick* to *Callice*, where the Countesse and her daughter then resided; by the way the Earle unmasked himselfe, and discovereth to the Duke what hitherto he had concealed of his project for the restoring of King *Henry*, and his plot how to accomplish it. To which *Clarence* gave both approbation and promise, to ayd and assist him to the accomplishment thereof to the uttermost. This thus concluded, the Earle dispatcheth messengers to his brother the Archbishop, and Marquesse, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King *Edward*, and to take hold, but cautiously, upon any ground to procure or prosecute some rebellious commotion or other in the North, whilst he and his new son-in-law would provide to goe through-stitch with the work. To a willing mind occasion will quickly be found, and the brothers entertaining the Earles advice, took hold upon this accident. The *Yorkshire* husband-men annually by ancient custome used to give to the poore people of *S. Leonards* in the Citie of *York*, for their alimony, certain quantities of corn and grain. A report is secretly raised, but upon what ground unknown, that this well-intended charitable contribution went not the right way, but that the givers were abused, and the poore people defrauded; the benefit of the gift going to certain officers of the house, that made a dividend thereof amongst themselves, allowing little or none at all thereof to the poore people. This rumor once on foot, spread it selfe far and neere in the Countrey. The husband-men willing enough to take any advantage to with-hold their charitie (which in that age began to wax cold, but in this is quite frozen) when the *Proctors* (according to the accustomed manner) came to make collection of the charitable devotion of the people, they were sent empty away, but not without (in some places) either foule language, or some blowes, and sometimes both; which occasioned retortion, and partakers are found on both parties sides; the religious and better sort of people helping to defend the Collectors, whom with great fury the ploughmen followed. This spark thus appearing, is fed with combustible stuffe, but underhand, by the Archbishop,

so that it took flame, and rose to a great height. Nevertheless, the Mar-  
 queesse *Mountacute*, more out of policy, than piety, seeming not to approve  
 of what was done, speeds with some forces to *York*, whither the unruly  
 multitude, to the number of fifteen thousand, drew, giving forth speeches by  
 the way, that they would utterly demolish the Hospitall, and fire the Citie.  
 The Marqueesse (with his power) taking advantage of the darknesse of the  
 night, and the ignorance or negligence of the watch, fallies out upon them,  
 takes their Captaine and strikes off his head, putting the rest with some lit-  
 tle losse to flight, whom he followeth no further (as not intending their fur-  
 ther hurt) but retreated to *York*, which he carefully made shew to man and  
 fortifie. The more to endere his service, he sends the newes thereof post to  
 the King, who being certified of the proceedings, was well pleased with what  
 was done, howsoever, he had small reason to think himselfe assured of the in-  
 tegrity of the doer; but as yet the actions of the Marqueesse, like the counte-  
 nance of *Ianus*, carried two faces, which his cunning yet covered. In the  
 mean while, the rebels have reallied their dispersed troopes, and encreased  
 their numbers. In stead of *Robert Huldron* their Captain, by the Marqueesse  
 beheaded, they had new Conductors; *Henry* son of the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and  
*Henry Nevill*, son and heire of the Lord *Latimer*; the one being Nephew,  
 the other Cousin-german to Marqueesse *Mountacute*. These having received  
 full instructions from the Archbishop of *York*, joyntly take upon them the  
 command, being assisted by Sir *Iohn Conyers*, a Knight of great courage, and  
 good direction. By his counsell, in regard they wanted engines wherewith  
 to force the walls of *York*, which they had (but disorderly) beleagured, the  
 rebels left the siege, and directed their march towards *London*, giving out by  
 the way (according as they were instructed by their leaders, and their private  
 directions) that King *Edward* was but a tyrannous usurper, and that they like  
 good subjects only endeavoured the restauration of their lawfull Sovereigne  
 King *Henry*; adding withall, that if any mischief were done to the body  
 of King *Henry* before his being restored to libertie, that they would not  
 leave alive any of the house of *York*. King *Edward* hereupon gives order to  
*William* Lord *Harbert*, the new created Earle of *Pembrook*, to stop this Nor-  
 thern storme, and to leavie power to withstand their further approaching.  
 He, both in obedience to King *Edwards* command, and willing to revenge  
 some former (as he conceived) affronts offered unto him by the sticklers in  
 this commotion; *Fitz-Hugh* and *Nevill* (accompanied with his brother *Rich-  
 ard*, and about seven thousand *Welsh*-men, to whom the Lord *Stafford* of  
*Southwick*, with some eight hundred Bow-men joyned) embraced the occa-  
 sion, and willingly undertook the charge. Sir *Richard Harbert*, with two  
 thousand horsemen, neer *Northampton*, charged the rere of the Northern men,  
 in which was Sir *Iohn Conyers*, who commanding faces about, so entertained  
 them, that the *Welsh*-men, with some losse, made more haste back than good  
 speed forward. Hereupon the Northern men, having to that end received  
 Letters of direction, shapeth their course towards *Warwick*; whither the Earle,  
 with his son-in-law *Clarence* were come, and had levied forces to joyne with  
 them. The King rather fullen for anger, than amated with feare, upon the  
 tydings of his brothers unnaturall backsliding, related unto him by his other  
 brother *Richard*, stood a while silent; but having made recollection of his  
 spirits, he said; Brother, yet I am beholding to you, that have made a full  
 expresseion both of your love and durie, in acquainting me with the danger,  
 and staying loyally on my side. But time permits not discourse, wee must

An.  
 1466.  
 R.6.

An.  
 1469.  
 R.9.

Ann.  
1466.  
R.9.

prepare our selves to withstand their fury; and to that end, take order to second *Pembrook*. And accordingly he makes preparation. But before his succours could come, the Northern men did reach *Warwick* upon Saint *James* even.

Sir Henry  
Nevill  
slaine.

Some distaste having been given by the Earle of *Pembrook* to the Lord *Stafford*, either for dispossessing him of his usuall Inne at *Banbury*, or withholding from him some light commodity in that Inne, which he formerly had made use of; *Stafford* with his Archers departed. Sir *Henry Nevill* having intelligence thereof, the next morning gave a Camisadoe with some horse to the Lord *Pembrooks* Camp, and charged so home, that (his seconds unable to relieve him) he was encloled with the multitude, and miserably slaine: which so incensed the Northern men, that they all gave on, and so fiercely assayed their opposites, that though for a time the *Welch* stood close, and kept order, yet, when a sudden rumor was spread, that the Earle of *Warwick* was come with his power, to charge them in the rere, they rowted and fled.

True it was that *John Clopton*, a retainer of the Earle of *Warwick*, having drawn together about five hundred men, weakly armed, and worse disciplined, he brought them to the top of an hill, in sight of both Armies, displaying thereon the Beare and ragged staffe, the Earle of *Warwicks* colours, and making shew to descend, was the occasion the *Welch* turned their back: in the flight five thousand were slaine, besides those that were taken prisoners, whereof the Earle of *Pembrook*, and Sir *Richard Harbert* his brother, who for their valour and sound direction that day shewed (had successe followed their attempts) deserve to be enrowled amongst the best Commanders, with ten other, not by the law of the field, but by the unbounded will of the Victors, were beheaded at *Banbury*.

This *William* Earle of *Pembrook*, married *Anne*, daughter of *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, by whom he had issue, three sons, and six daughters.

*William*, that succeeded him in the Earldome.

Sir *Walter Harbert*, Knight; and

Sir *George Harbert*, Knight.

*Cicely*, Baronesse of *Greystock*.

*Mawd*, married to *Henry Piercy*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*Katherine*, married to *George* Earle of *Kent*.

*Anne*, married to the Lord *Powes*.

*Isabell*, married to Sir *Thomas Cooksey*, Knight; and

*Margaret*, married first to Vicount *Lisley*, and then to Sir *Henry Bodringham*, Knight.

The newes of these proceedings set wide open the gates of the rebellion, and gave courage to the *Northamptonshire* men, who, prepared before to that purpose, took this opportunity to make a commotion; and under the conduct of one *Robert Hiliard*, by them stiled *Robert* of *Risdale*, came to *Grafton*, and there took the Queens Father Earle *Rivers*, and his son Sir *John Woodvile*; and at *Northampton*, without triall or judgement, (courses out of use amongst unruly rebels) caused them to be beheaded. *Richard Woodvile*, Baron of *Wymington*, married *Iaquet*, daughter of the Earle of *St. Pauls*, the widow of *John Duke* of *Bedford*; for which, not having the Kings licence, he was fined to King *Henry* the sixt in one thousand pounds: he was installed Knight of the Garter the 30. of Octob. Anno Hen. 6. 28. And 4. of K. Edw. 4. he was created Earle *Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*: he had issue by the said *Iaquet*, seven Sons, and six Daughters.



1. *Anthony* that succeeded his Father. 2. *Lewis* dyed young. 3. *James* dyed young. 4. *John* with his Father taken at *Edgcote*, and with him beheaded at *Northampton*, as afore. 5. *Lionell*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, that begat upon his Concubine *Stephen Gardner*, afterwards Bishop of *Winton*. 6. *Edward*, who dyed without issue. 7. *Richard* that succeeded his brother *Anthony* in the Earldome, but dying without issue, left it to his sisters all living.

An.  
1469.  
R.9.

1. *Elizabeth*, at first married to Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, and afterward to *Edward* the fourth.

2. *Margaret*, married to *Thomas Fitzallan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

3. *Anne*, married first to *William Bouchier*, son of *Henry* Earle of *Essex*, and after to *George Gray* Earle of *Kent*, and then to Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Knight.

4. *Iaquet* was married to *John Lord Strange* of *Knocking*.

5. *Mary* was married to *William Harbert* Earle of *Huntington*; and

6. *Katherine*, first married to *Henry Stafford*, second Duke of *Buckingham*, and then to *Jasper* of *Hatfield*, Duke of *Bedford*. The Lord *Stafford* having long lurked without discovery about *Devonshire*, is apprehended, and for his base departure from the Earle of *Pembrook*, beheaded at *Bridgewater*.

The Northern men have opportunity to joyne with the Earle of *Warwick*.

The whole body of the Common-wealth thus fearefully groaning under the searefull expectation of unchristian cruelty; the effects whereof, divers of the Nobility and Clergy endeavoured by all means possible to prevent; and to that end, on both sides mediated for some pacification. But whilst it is in agitation, both parts having drawn their forces together, a generall preparation is made for an unavoydable banquet for death; whilst King *Edward* the lesse circumspect, by reason of some overtures of submission, cautelously tendred, gave advantage to the Earle of *Warwick*, who had secret intelligence of the order in the Kings Camp, in the dead of the night to fall upon it, where with some small slaughter having slaine the Sentinells, they took the King prisoner in his bed, who was presently conveyed to *Midleham Castle* in *Yorkshire*, to be kept safely by the Archbishop of *York*.

King Edward taken prisoner.

The Earle of *Warwick*, relying upon his brothers care of his charge, considering that he was the Key of their work; and being perswaded, that the brunt of the wars was past, dismiss most of his Army: but as one that reckoned without his Host, must make a new account, so to that exigent he was driven: For whilst he made search and diligent enquiry after King *Henry*, whose place of imprisonment was not known, King *Edward* escaped: but whether by over-great promises seduced, or through guilt of Conscience induced thereunto, it is questionable. But howsoever, the Archbishop permitted him to have so much libertie, by way of recreation on hunting, that by the contrivement and assistance of Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *Thomas Burgh*, he was both rescued from his Keepers, and in safety conducted to *York*. Such is the instabilitie of occurrences in this world, that therein is certainty of nothing but incertainty; the secrets of Gods providence being inscrutable. King *Edward*, that in the morning was a prisoner at the Earle of *Warwicks* devotion, is now at liberty to provide how to question his mitred keeper, and his late triumphant committer, for their undutifull presumption.

King Edward escaped.

From *York* he posteth to *Lancaster*, where his Chamberlaine the Lord *Hastings* had raised some forces; with those he marcheth to *London*, the love of whose Citizens he mainly relied upon, and thereof found himselfe not deceived; for they with willing readinesse receive him.

An.  
1469.  
R.9.

The Earle of *warwick*, having information of what was past, makes a verue of necessitie, and dispatches Letters and Messengers to all his friends and confederates, to draw to an head; which they accordingly did. But by the earnest solicitation and industry of those good Patriots, which before had laboured to have the sword of civill dissention sheathed, now an interview (upon interchange of oaths for safetie and faire returne on both sides) is had betwixt the King, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earle of *warwick*, in *westminster Hall*.

But the Earle, like one endeavouring to infect the ayre, takes poyson into his mouth, and spits it into the wind, makes repetition of former courtesies done to *Edward*, and for requitall thereof, indignities returned; which with such peremptory phrase he urged, that they savoured so much of exprobatation, that the King, unable to endure such harsh and ill-becoming language from a subject, in a scornfull fury, departed the Hall, and went to *Canterbury*, and the Duke and Earle to *Lincolne*, whither they had pre-appointed their powers to repayre, under the conduct of Sir *Robert wells*, son and heire of the Lord *Wells*, a valiant Gentleman, and of approved sufficiency.

An.  
1470.  
R.10.  
The Lord  
*wells* and  
Sir *Thomas*  
*Dymock*  
beheaded

The King, with intent to take off Sir *Robert* from *warwicks* part, sends for *Richard Lord wells*, who, with his brother-in-Law, Sir *Thomas Dymock*, coming to attend the Kings pleasure, received information from some of their friends in Court, that the King was much incensed against them: whereupon they take Sanctuary at *westminster*; from whence, upon the Kings promise of generall pardon, they came to his presence, who gave command to the Lord *wells*, effectually by Letter to sollicite his son Sir *Robert wells*, to leave the Earle of *warwick*, and come to the Kings service: which was accordingly done; but because it procured not desired effect, the King (not without blemish to his Honour) in his rage caused both their heads to be strook off. The report whereof so enraged the young Knight, that no perswasion could prevaile with him to abide the Earle of *warwicks* comming, which was every day expected; but passion having blinded his judgement, led on by fury, and the inevitableness of his fate, he with his forces charged the Kings Army. And whilst he laboured to goe beyond man in doing, (his valour not checkt by discretion) he proves lesse than a sucking childe, and so sinking under an oppressing multitude, he was taken prisoner; which so discouraged his men, that they fled, and the lighter to run away, they cast off their coats; and thereby gave a name unto the place from whence they fled, which ever since hath been called *Lose-coat-field*: in this place were slaine of the Earles part ten thousand, and odde; of the Kings side thirteen hundred, but no man of mark.

Lose-coat-  
field.

Sir *Robert wells*, with all the prisoners then taken, were there presently executed; Sir *Robert* beheaded, the other hanged, which were threescore and seven.

The report of this disaster, turnes *Clarence* and his Father-in-law to *Ex-ceter*, from whence, having dismiss their Army, they fled to *Dartmouth*, from thence they shipped to *Callice*, having their Ladies and divers Gentlewomen in their company, intending there to goe on shore; but their expectation was frustrated: for whilst he was about to land, he was saluted with a great shot from the platforme, which assured them there was no going on shoare there, without apparant danger; whereupon the Earle by messenger entreated Mounseieur *Vocler*, the Earles Deputie-Lieutenant there, but to give way

way to the Ladies to land (the Dutchesse of *Clarence* being then in travail) which *Vocleer* uncourteously refused, and like the Hedghog kept his Captaine out of his own lodging; not doing or permitting to be done any the least office of humanitie, but denying the sicke and tender Ladies all courtesie and comfort: wherefore the Earle was enforced to put againe to Sea; whilst King *Edward*, for this so discourteous usage of the Earle, sent the ungratefull *Gascoyne* a Parent of the Captaines place of *Callice*, under the great Seale of *England*: and the Duke of *Burgoyne* gave him an annuities of one hundred pounds *per annum* during life.

An.  
1470.  
R. 10.

Notwithstanding, *Warwick* being at Sea, received intelligence from *Vocleer* (whom it seems did love the Earle in the second place, but himselfe in the first) that the Duke of *Burgoyne* plotted his destruction; whereupon the Earle kept the Seas, and took all the *Burgonians* he could meet, making prize of their ladings, wherewith he landed in *France*, and from *Deep*, by the French Kings solemn invitation, he went to the Castle of *Amboyes*, where the King then kept his Court. And there the Ladies wants are supplied, and honourable welcome, and liberall entertainment given to the Earle and all his company.

*Warwick*  
entertain-  
ed by the  
French  
King.

The newes of the Earle of *Warwicks* being at the French Kings Court, drew thither Queene *Margaret*, and her sonne *Edward*, with *Iasper* late Earle of *Pembrook*; for this *Iasper* having been attainted of treason, *William* Lord *Harbert* was created Earle of *Pembrook*; but being slaine, *William* his sonne succeeded in the Earldome.

Visited by  
Queene  
*Margaret*.

This *Iasper* and others with him (who were lately broke out of prison in *England*, and fled thither) joyne in confederation with the Earle of *Warwick*, and a solemn oath passeth betwixt the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earles of *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and *Iasper* of *Pembrook*, never to desert one the other during life, nor desist, to the uttermost of their best abilities, to procure the releasement of King *Henry*, and his restoration to the Crowne of *England*, and to give the better countenance to this confederation. Prince *Edward* is married to the Earle of *Warwicks* daughter. But therein the Earle of *Warwick* (sitting in his owne light) overshot himselfe, and by over-doing in policy to strengthen his part, both himselfe and partakers are undone. The water intended to drive the Mill, being drawne to drowne the same; for the Duke of *Clarence*, after he had taken into his owne more serious consideration, the purposed end of this match, he easily perceived, that, that being seconded with the intended prosecution of the warres against King *Edward*, would (if successfull) prove the utter overthrow of his brothers, and the finall extirpation of the house of *Tork*. From hence arose, and not without just ground, the Dukes distrust of his own fortunes; for the prevention of which mischiefe, he inwardly became lesse forward to the businesse, and began to cast about, how to come fairely off from his Father-in-law; propinquitie of blood proving a stronger incentive to affection, than contracted affinity, though never so much combined with solemn promises, and overt protestations. From hence forth underhand he gives perfect intelligence to King *Edward*, of all proceedings against him; and withall, assures him, that he was resolved, upon his comming into *England*, to play the part of a loving Brother; and as he did now, in heart, decline the confederation, so he would then clean desert their cause. Herewith when King *Edward* acquainted his Brother the Duke of *Tork*, he said, he alwayes thought as much; for he that at one time had turned traytour to his Sovereigne, would at another

*Ioyne* in  
confede-  
racy a-  
gainst K.  
*Edward*.

Prince *Ed-  
ward* mar-  
ried to his  
daughter.

prove



Ann.  
1470.  
R. 10.

The Burgo-  
nian Fleet  
dispersed.

Doctor  
Goddards  
Sermon  
at Pauls  
Crosse.

King Ed-  
ward en-  
forced to  
forsake  
the Land.

prove treacherous to his friend; but we may (saith he) presume better here-  
after of our Brother.

The *French King* having furnished the new Confederates with men, mo-  
ney, and amunition, and with necessary shipping, they all went aboard, and  
falling downe to the mouth of the river of *Seyne*, they descried the *Burgo-  
nians* with a strong fleet, prepared to interrupt their sayling forth. Where-  
upon the Lords strike sayle, and call to Councell; but during their time of  
such consultation, a strong Southwest wind comes from land, with a terrible  
tempest of raine; by fury whereof, the *Burgonian Fleet* was driven to Sea,  
and severed, many of them being driven on ground in *Scotland*. The storme  
being ceased, having set the Queene and Prince, with his wife, on shore,  
*Warwick* with his Complices hoise sayle, and with a merry gale, arrive safe-  
ly at *Dartmouth*; from whence he gave notice to his partakers of his ar-  
rivall.

King *Edward* presuming of the strength of the *Burgonian Fleet*, and their  
watchfulnesse, had omitted preparation, either to impeach his adversaries  
landing, or to affront them being landed; by meanes whereof, the Lords  
land at ease, and having a cleere passage, march forward in good array, ma-  
king Proclamation in every place where they come, in King *Henries* name,  
to command all his loving subjects to be ready both with purse and person,  
to give him assistance against the Duke of *York*, who, like a tyrant and an u-  
surper, withheld from him his Crowne and Patrimony; by this meanes in  
few dayes his Army greatly encreased; wherewith in good order, and by  
easie marches, keeping his men alwayes in action, by exercising them, and  
fitting them to their weapons, he made towards *London*. Upon notice of  
whose approach, on the Sunday next after Michaelmasse day, one Doctor  
*Goddard*, a Chaplain of the Earle of *Warwick*, appointed to preach at *Pauls  
Crosse*, did so set forth the pious intention of the Earle his Master, that en-  
devoured the restoring of a wronged King to his libertie and Dominion,  
and to free the Kingdome from an usurper; that his pithy perswasions pre-  
vailed so far with his Auditory, that none reproved him for his boldnesse,  
but so approved of his Sermon, that divers put their ghostly Fathers advice  
in practice; insomuch, that the Marquesse *Mountacute*, who had (as was pre-  
tended) on King *Edwards* behalfe, levied six thousand men about *London*,  
found them all enclinable to goe with him to the Earle of *Warwick*, and ac-  
cordingly went and joyned with him: so suddenly and easily will the vulgar  
be seduced!

This newes, and the generall acclamations that went through all places, of  
King *Henry*, and a *Warwick*, caused King *Edward* to distrust his owne soul-  
diers; and fearing the tyde would turne, his heart failing him, in the dead of  
the night, onely with eight hundred, of whose constancy he was assured, most  
of them the Lords, *Rivers*, *Hastings*, and *Sayes* retinue, he posted from be-  
sides *Nottingham* toward *Lincolnshire*; but having notice that *Warwick* to  
impeach his retreat, had sent his light horsemen before, and followed him-  
selfe with the body of the Army, with great hazard, and losse of his car-  
riages (which were sunke in the sands,) he past the *Washes*, and came to  
*Lynne*, from whence, with the Duke of *Glocester*, the Lord *Scales*, and about  
seven hundred men, without any change of rayment, or other necessities,  
or other victuals, but what they brought on horseback with them, or what  
they had left their horses in pawn for in the Towne, they set sayle, bending  
their course for *Holland*. The Lord Chamberlaine stayed behind, aswell to  
make

make what provision he could, for the better accommodation of the King to carry with him, as to take order with such of their followers as were to stay behind, whom he entreated to temporize things standing as they did; (till the wind came about againe, which he affirmed would be very shortly) but upon the first faire gale that blew, with King Edward to open their sayles on his behalfe. Whilst he was upon this negotiacion, Fortune, that makes a tennis-ball of the greatest, thus playd her part with King Edward: No sooner was he past ken of shore, but certaine Easterlings, enemies both to *England* and *France*, were descried to have them in chase; so that the Mariners were driven to clap on all their canvass, to beare up for the next shore of *Holland*; The Easterlings plyed after them so close, that the English durst not take land, but where their landing might be favoured by some Fort or Towne; so that they were forced to fall lower than the first Coast, and came to anchor before a Towne in the *Netherlands*, called *Alquemare*, as neere it as with conveniency they might; the ebbe beinge false too low to enter the Haven. The Easterlings, whose ships were of greater burden, came as neere them as they durst for feare of running on ground, intending at the next flood to lay them aboard. But in the interim the Lord *Hastings* beinge landed in *Holland*, making enquiry after King Edward, but receiving no tydings of his beinge come on shore, presently dispatcheth Curryers to all the Maritime Townes thereabouts, to give notice that *Edward* King of *England* was upon the Coasts, to visit his Brother-in-law and Sister, the Duke and Dutcheffe of *Burgoyne*. The Lord *Grontheer*, Governour of *Alquemare*, beinge hereof informed, suspecting what was true, that the King of *England* was aboard those ships, that the Easterlings had chased in; he presently manned out a Boat unto them, with this message, That the King of *England* was in league with that Countrey, and his subjects and shipping should ride safe in that harbour, without impeachment of any man; and therefore commanded them in the Dukes name, not to disturb the English in their landing, as they would run the hazard of the Cannon from the Towne: by which means the King was permitted quietly to come on shore, and was honourably entertained by the Governour, who conducted him to the *Hague*, where they stayed the comming of the Duke.

King Edward, having now almost in a miraculous manner past the pikes in his own Kingdome, and the perills both of Seas and Pyrates, presuming that Gods providence had protected him for some good purpose; he, by the advice of his Sister (who in all things exprest her selfe, a dutifull Wife to her Husband, but a deare friend to her Brother) did intimate unto the Duke, that he had now, under God, none to relie upon in this his extremity, but himselfe, and therefore he earnestly doth sollicit him for present succours, which he obtaineth.

But whilst forces are raising to secure King Edwards returne out of *Holland*, his Queen *Elizabeth* forsaketh the Tower, and secretly taketh Sanctuary at *Westminster*, upon report of *Warwicks* approach; who made the more hasty march for *London*, for that he was informed, that some seditious persons about *Kent*, such that onely awaited opportunitie to fish in troubled waters, more out of greedy desire to gaine bootie than get glory, had plotted the pillaging of *London*, from which they were hardly restrained, notwithstanding the carefull, resolute, and industrious courses of the Maior and his Compeeres.

These scatter-goods played reaks about *Limehouse*, and places adjoyning, untill

AN.  
1476.  
R.10.

King Edward in danger of Pirates.

King Edward craveth succour of the Duke of Burgoyne.

Queen Elizabeth taketh Sanctuary at Westminster.

Ann.

1470.

R. 10.

Rebells of  
Kent sup-  
pressed by  
Warwick.  
K. Henry  
set at li-  
bertie.

untill the Earle of *warwick* suppressed them, and made exemplary punish-  
ment to be inflicted upon many of them, to the great content of the more  
sober-minded people; and much commendation from the Citizens, for his  
care of the Cities safety.

Execution of these pillagers done, *warwick* commeth to the Tower,  
which two dayes before the Maior by a bloudlesse stratagem had entred, and  
did now make good on the behalfe of King *Henry*, who was by him removed  
out of his hold of durance, into his own lodging, and there served accord-  
ing to his state; which the Earle of *warwick* (as the more sensible of the  
two) did more congratulate than the King himselfe.

King *Henry* upon the sixt day of October, accompanied with the Archbi-  
shop of *York*, the Prior of Saint *Iohns*, the Bishop of *London*, the Duke of  
*Clarence*, the Earle of *warwick*, and other Nobles, with great solemnitie  
was conducted through *London* to the Bishops Pallace, where he rested un-  
till the thirteenth of that moneth; on which day he went in solemne pro-  
cession about *Pauls Church*, (wearing his imperiall Crowne) the Earle of  
*warwick* bearing up his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the Sword before  
him; in whom it appeared, that mortalitie was but the stage of muta-  
bilitie.

The next day, as the usuall adjunct of like proceedings, in all usuall places  
about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaimed an Usurper, and all his partakers  
and abettors, Traytors to God and the King, whereof *Iohn Lord Tiptoft*,  
Earle of *Worcester*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the first ex-  
ample, and on that day beheaded on Tower-hill. He had to wife *Elizabeth*,  
sister and heire of Sir *Walter Hopton*, Knight; by whom he had issue, *Edward*,  
who after did succeed him in the Earldome.

The high Court of Parliament (as a cloak to cover all bracks of eruption  
in the State) is assembled at *westminster*, wherein King *Edward*, and all his  
knowne friends and followers, are attainted of high Treason, and all their  
lands and goods seized on to King *Henries* use. And like a Well with two  
buckets, whereof one came up full to be emptied, the other goes downe  
empty to be filled; one Parliament sets up an *Edward*, and puts downe *Hen-  
ry*, and the next acknowledgeth *Henry*, and explodeth *Edward*.

*George Plantagenet*, Duke of *Clarence*, is by the authoritie of this Parlia-  
ment adjudged to be heire to *Richard Duke of York* his Father; and that  
Dutchy was likewise settled upon him, (notwithstanding the primogeniture  
of *Edward*) and his heires. The Crowne of *England* was likewise entayled,  
for want of heires males of the body of King *Henry*, upon Duke *George*, and  
his heires for ever; so proclive was the Parliament to give consent to what-  
soever by the Earle of *Warwick*, on the behalfe of King *Henry* (in which  
web he alwayes inter-wove some threds that might seeme for the strength-  
ning of his Son-in-laws good respect towards him) was proposed. By which  
meanes, *Clarence* was kept within the Verge hitherto of the Earle of *War-  
wicks* devotion.

*Iasper Earle of Pembroke*, and *Iohn Earle of Oxford*, are fully restored to  
Honour and lands.

*Clarence* and *warwick* are made Governours of the King and Kingdome,  
and all things, both in Parliament, Court, and Councell, consented unto,  
and concluded on, as they would propose and appoint.

The Queen is sent for into *France*, but she, as if appointed not to taste any  
of the cup of her husbands fairer fortunes, is kept back by contrary winds,

fo

A Parlia-  
ment.

The  
Crowne  
entayled  
upon *Clar-  
ence*.



so that during the Winter season, against the Kings will, and her owne desires, shee is kept on the other side the Sea.

Elizabeth, Queene to King Edward, is in the meane time, in the Sanctuary at Westminster, delivered of a Sonne, christened by the name of Edward.

warwick, that nothing might seeme to be left undone, that might conduce to the good of the Common-wealth, and advantageous to their proceeding, sent divers Companies over to Callice, from thence to infest the Duke of Burgoines Dominions. And it is not unworthy the observation, the peoples levitie, that whom as yesterday they had proclaimed traytour, and despihtfully traduced, that the bruit of his returne into England was no sooner spread, but the Earle of Warwicks Cognizance, the Beate and the ragged Staffe, was worne in every mans cap; yea, Monsieur Voletiere was contented to surrender his new Patent, and accepted of his former deputation now confirmed, and weare the Earles Livery, which he was pleased to vouchsafe him, notwithstanding his former uncivill and unrespective demeanour, both towards him and the Ladyes in his company.

The Duke of Burgoine being sensible of this storme which was likely to fall upon him, both from the French King, and the Calliceans, if not warily prevented, wisely so wrought with the Duke of Clarence, that the truce formerly concluded betwixt him and King Edward, should in all things be ratified and confirmed, the Kings name only altered to Henry; but with this cautionary restriction, that no ayd should be given to his Brother-in-law King Edward: And hereof assurance by oath is given. Nevertheless, within short time after, whether by the Duke or Dutcheffes meanes, it is doubtfull; but by one of theirs, Edward was furnished with eightene tall ships, and two thousand Dutchmen, and with fiteene thousand Florens of gold. Thus furnished, he took land at a place called Ravenspur in Yorkshire; in which place he found but cold entertainment. Nevertheless, as one that had no other hope left, but that little stay he had taken hold of, he made a wary march to York, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome, so that he was enforced, most unlike himselfe, to make use of the Devils sophistry; and by most execrable oaths, to winne belife the sooner amongst the Inhabitants of York, he seriously vowed, according as he had pre-published in his passage thither, That he only challenged the benefit of his birth-right, which was the inheritance of the Duchy of York, unlawfully with strong hand with-held against him, utterly disclaiming any intention he had to lay any claime to the Crowne of England, which he seemed ingeniously to acknowledge to be King Henries indubitate right. The Citizens credulitie was such, that they upon these protestations, and upon taking the Sacrament to use the Citizens fairely, and to be true liegemen to King Henry, permitted him entrance, which before they utterly denied him; But he was no sooner entered, but that he gave them a sufficient taste of his intendment, which was, not to want any thing whereof in that place he might be by any meanes furnished. And having well refreshed his men, and furnished himselfe, with what men, money, and victuals, the Citie could afford him, having left a sufficient garrison to keep the Citie to his owne use, he marched towards London, waging by the way all the souldiers, that either threats, promises, or money could winne or procure.

The Marquesse Montiacute, whose actions and carriage were alwayes reserved and obscure from the vulgar, yea, so disputable and doubtfull amongst his

An.  
1470.  
R. 10.  
The  
Queene  
delivered  
of a Son.

An.  
1471.  
R. 11.

King Edward is admitted into York.

An.  
1471.  
R. II.

his own Brothers and Allyes, that none but himsele could expatiate them. He now, when he had power sufficient to doe it, did not impeach King *Edwards* passage about *Pomfret*, but suffered him to passe by him not fought with; for which he was much condemned by his Brother, and deservedly; for had *Edward* been then but a little shaken, he had dyed at roor. Being come to *Nottingham*, divers of the Nobilitie came to him, making tender of their service; but with this proviso, that he would resolutely take upon him the stile and Title of King, and accordingly take his State; which he without much contradiction was contented (his former oath to the contrary being no scruple to his conscience) to consent unto. And as a river, running far from its first rising, is still augmented by the accesse of other brooks and waters falling into it; so King *Edwards* Army encreased, by marching onward, to a great number.

Warwick  
entrencheth  
at Co-  
ventry.

The Earle of *Warwick*, upon notice of these proceedings, leaving King *Henry* at *London*, hasted towards his Towne of *Warwick*; from whence he sent to the Duke of *Clarence* to advertise him of these occurrences, desiring his speedy accesse thither, where he would abide his comming. But the Duke lingred out the time, and made not that speed that was expected, and the businesse in hand required; which gave cause of suspition of his tergiversation: whereupon *Warwick* (with his forces) withdrew toward *Coventry*, where he strongly entrencheth and fortifieth himsele; whither King *Edward* followeth him, and often provoked him to issue forth. But he wisely, not being very confident of his souldiers fidelitie or courage (as yet untried) refused, keeping himsele close within his Trenches. Whereupon King *Edward* marcheth to *Warwick*, perswading himsele, that that course (if any thing could) would draw the Earle to fight. But when that prevailed not, he bent his course towards the Duke of *Clarence*, who with his forces made shew to give him battell; But when both their Armies were in fight, the Duke of *Glocester* so wrought between them, that they were both overtly reconciled, as they privately were before, and their forces were conjoyned. The three brothers, now by faire promises and liberall offers, assayed to win the Earle of *Warwick*, to embrace faire offers of favour and reconcilement; but he, readier to be broken than bent, in stead of embracing these proffered courtesies, upbraided the Duke of *Clarence* with perjurie, and degenerate cowardinesse, returning them answer; That he would rather die like himsele, than live and have to doe with such usurping, disloyall, and ill-conditioned base turne-coats.

King Ed-  
ward en-  
treth Lon-  
don.

The King taking notice of his head-strong resolution, with his two Brothers, and all their forces united, marcheth towards *London*, where, after some little shew of resistance, the Weathercock-Citizens moving like the eares of standing corn, all together which way soever the wind blew, received him with great applause, and lowd acclamations of welcome, delivering up unto him the miserable King *Henry*, like a ball to be bandied with the racket of his pleasure, into what hazard he pleased.

The Earle of *Warwick* (with all his forces) warily followed them at the heeles, but could never find opportunitie, as he expected, either upon advantage to cut off their rere, or hinder their approach to *London*. And having certain intelligence, that King *Edward* was entred *London*, and King *Henry* re-imprisoned, he encamped at Saint *Albones*, aswell to refresh his souldiers, as to take counsell what course to take, and how to dispose of their journey.

King

King *Edward* being advertised of the Earle of *warwicks* approach, thinking it not fit to have him to advance too neere *London*, drew out his forces, and with them marcheth to meet his Adversary.

The resolution was equall on both parts, to set up their rests upon the hazard of that encounter; upon Easter Eve the King with his power lodged in *Barnet* towne; the Earle of *Warwick* encamped upon the hill betweene *Saint Albons* and *Barnet*, the Campes each in sight of other.

Early on Easter day in the morning (an unfit day chosen for so unpleasing a service to God,) the souldiers on both sides are put in array; The Earle of *Warwick* appointed the command of the right wing, which consisted of horse, to his Brother the Marquesse *Montacute*, and the Earle of *Oxford*: The left wing likewise consisting of horse, was led by the Duke of *Excceter*; and the battell consisting of Bills and Bowes, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Voward on the Kings part was commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*; The battell, in which was King *Henry*, was led by King *Edward* himselfe, and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Rere.

There wanted on neither side besitting encouragement, to incite the souldiers to show themselves valiant, and each one to doe his endeavour to conquer; the exhortations ended, the fight began, and with great valour and resolution on both sides, maintained by the space of six houres, without any disadvantage on either part appearing, untill King *Edward* gave order to certaine fresh troopes of Rutters for that purpose reserved, to charge the now wearied battell of the enemy, which the Earle of *Warwick* observing, alighted from his horse, with a desperate courage hee entred amongst his Adversaries, whom his brother the Marquesse *Montacute*, in hope to rescue, followed, and so were both enclosed and slaine: And with their fall, fell the victory to King *Edwards* part, who being assured thereof (leaving his Brothers to Marshall the field, and to take order for the quartering the souldiers) he with King *Henry* in his company went on the spurre to *London*, and there at Evening-song in *Saint Pauls* Church offered his Banner, and the Earle of *Warwicks* Standard.

On King *Edwards* part was slaine no man of extraordinary note, but the Lord *Cromwell*, Sonne and heire of the Earle of *Essex*; and the Lord *Barnes*, Sonne and heire of the Lord *Say*.

On the other part were slaine, the Earle of *warwick*, the Marquesse *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights: On both sides fell foure thousand six hundred and odde.

The bodies of the Earle of *warwick*, and his brother, were stripped starke naked, and put in one Coffin, and the next day brought to *London*, where in the body of *Saint Pauls* Church, they lay by the space of two dayes bare Visaged.

This Earle of *Warwick*, commonly stiled the Great Earle of *Warwick*, whose usuall phrase was, That hee had rather bee able to set up, or pull downe a King, than bee a King; was *Richard Nevill*, Sonne and heire of *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixt Earle of *Warwick*, in whose right hee was Earle of *Warwick*, and in his owne, Earle of *Salisbury*, and Lord *Mounthermer*; hee was great Chamberlaine, and Lord high Admirall of *England*, Lord Warden of the North-Marches towards *Scotland*, and of the Cinque-Ports, Captaine of *Callice*, and high Steward of the Dutchy of

As:  
1472.  
R. II:

warwick  
slaine.



*Ann.*  
1472.  
*R.* 11.

Marquesse  
Montacute.

*Lancaster* : hee had issue two Daughters, *Isabell*, married to *George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to *Edward*, titular Prince of *Wales*, and after to *Richard* the Usurper.

*John Nevill*, Brother to the said Earle, was first created Lord *Mountague*, after that, Earle of *Northumberland*, upon the attainder and banishment of *Henry Piercy* Earle thereof : But upon his returne into *England*, and restoring in blood, *Nevill* surrendred his grant of the Earledome of *Northumberland*, and was created Marquesse *Montacute* : hee married *Isabell* Daughter and heire of Sir *Edward Inglethorpe* Knight, and had issue ;

*George Nevill*, created Duke of *Bedford*, but after degraded by Act of Parliament ; and five Daughters, who after their Brothers decease (which dyed without issue) were co-heires of his estate.

*Anne*, married to Sir *William Stoneburst* Knight.

*Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Scroop* of *Risdale*.

*Margaret*, married to Sir *John Mortimer* Knight.

*Lucy*, married to Sir *Thomas Fitz-Williams* Knight.

*Isabell*, married to Sir *William Huddleston* Knight, and all these Daughters had issue.

After these Brothers had beene made a spectacle of mortalitie, and the subject of their spectators spight, scorn, or pitie, three dayes in that manner, they were permitted to be carried to the Monastery of *Bissam*, and there in one grave buried amongst their Ancestors.

Queene *Margaret*, when it was too late, with some French forces, landed at *Waymouth*, where having unwelcome tidings of these disasters, and that the Duke of *Excester* supposed slaine, was strangely recovered, and had taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, shee with her Sonne conveyed her selfe to *Bewley* in *Hampshire*, where shee took Sanctuary, having sent her souldiers into *Wales* to *Iasper*, Earle of *Pembrook*, who with the Duke of *Somerset*, *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Devon*, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and some others, repaired thither unto her. Amongst these, it is resolved once more to bring their forces together into the field, and hazzard one stroke more. From *Bewley* the Queene and the Earle of *Somerset* speed towards *Bristol*, intending with what powers they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march to *Wales* to joyn with *Pembrook*, who was gone thither to make preparation accordingly.

The King made acquainted with these overtures, resolves if possible to crosse the conjunction, and followes Queene *Margaret* with a great power so close, that neere *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire*, hee overtakes her forces ; who resolutely turne, and make head against the Kings power, where *Somerset* on the Queenes part leading on the Van, did performe the part of a good Commander, and a stout souldier, maintaining the fight for a long time resolutely and bravely : But when hee found his souldiers (through wearineffe) begin to faint, and the Kings battell come on, and that the Lord *Wenlock* which had the conduct of the battell on the Queenes part moved not ; *Somerset* rode unto him, and upbraiding him with Cowardise, with his Pollax beat out his braines : But before he could bring in his men to the rescues, their Voward was routed : and *John* Earle of *Devon* (who had no issue) with three thousand and odde of the Queenes part were slaine.

Queene *Margaret*, *John Beauford*, the Duke of *Somerset*s Brother, the Prior of *Saint Iohns*, Sir *Iervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken

taken Prisoners, which all except Queene Margaret were beheaded the next day: At which time, Sir Richard Crofts presented to King Edward, Prince Edward, whom he had taken Prisoner: King Edward did at first receive him with a kinde of countenance, expressing more signes of rejoycing to see a friend, than triumph of taking an enemy, and began to move familiar questions unto him, but not receiving such submissive satisfactory answers, as he required, and it may be some of riper yeeres, upon the like occasion, would have done, hee disdainfully thrust him from him, when presently the Dukes of York, and Clarence, Thomas, Marquesse Dorset, and the Lord Hastings (the Kings back being but turned) with their Poniards barbarously stabd into the breast, and inhumanly murdered, against the Law of God, Nature and Nations; which occasioned the revenge of his blood afterwards in generall upon them all, and in particular upon every one of them.

The King having made conquest now in twenty dayes, of what great Warwick had done before in eleven; with Queen Margaret his prisoner, triumphantly marcheth towards London, from whence (as being assured, as long as there remained any of the partakers of King Henry at liberty, and in life, his death should be alwayes plotting) hee sent Roger Vaughan, a Potent Gentleman, and much reckoned of in his owne Countrey, to entrap Jasper Earle of Pembroke, who had escaped with the Earle of Somerset, from the last encounter: But Pembroke having premonition of the plot, prevented the mischief, by giving Vaughan meanes to taste the same fauce, and strook off his head.

King Edward lingreth about Coventry, expecting newes from Vaughan, but at once received notice both of Vaughans defeat; and newes that Thomas Bastard Fauconbridge imployed by King Henry, at the appointment of great Warwick, to scowre the narrow Seas, had irritated new sedition: And true it was, that this Fauconbridge having at Sea encountred with many that had escaped from Tewkesbury battell; and were making for France, and by them, being informed of the murder of Prince Edward, and the incarceration of Queene Margaret, hee made all fish that came to net, and robbed and spoyled all that hee could come at, of amunition and able men, as well Natives as Aliens, and had perswaded many of the old Garrison souldiers of Calice, to the number of three hundred, under the conduct of Sir George Brook, to joyne with him, and had now drawne from all parts, all such as had escaped the former encounters, or were willing to purchase booty and pillage, and now did intend to work some stratagem against King Edward, and the Kingdome: And with a well accomplished Army of seventeene thousand men came to London, and in hostile manner commanded admission into the Citie, and the releasement of King Henry out of prison: But was resisted and denied by the Maior and Citizens on the one side, and the Lieutenant of the Tower on the other.

King Edward upon the first newes, knowing how dangerous delayes are in matters of this nature, presently dispatched Marquesse Dorset with some competent troops of Horse to secure London, whilst himselfe upon the sixteenth day of May, followes with his own power, laying all the wayes to intercept any intelligence, that might be sent or received betwixt the Bastard and Pembroke.

Fauconbridge thus denied entrance, brings up his shipping to Saint Katharines,

An.  
1472.  
R. 12.  
Queene  
Margaret  
taken pri-  
soner.

Prince  
Edward  
slauhtre-  
red.

An.  
1472.  
R. II.

*Katherines*, and leaving in them but men sufficient to receive the bootie brought, takes out the most desperate and dangerous, and with them marcheth to *Kingstone* bridge; promising his souldiers (by the way) to give them the plundering of *Westminster* for their dinners, and of the suburbs of *London* for their suppers, but *London* it selfe should be their breakfast in the next morning. But finding *Kingstone* bridge broken downe, and all the places of passage guarded, ascertained of the Kings approach, and doubting to be enclosed, he altered his resolution, and with all his forces withdrew into *Saint Georges* field; from whence he prepared to assault the Citie of *London*: For the effecting whereof, he landed all his ship Ordnance, and planted them all alongst the banks side, and therewith battered downe many houses, and much annoyed the Citie; but having some Religion in his rage, he gave order to the Cannoneers to spare Churches, and houses of Religion.

From *Saint Katherines*, by Boat he past over three thousand men, giving them directions to divide themselves, and with one moitie to assault *Algate*, and with the other *Bishopsgate*; whilst he with the residue laboured to gaine entrance by *London* bridge; the houses round about which, he fired. All these places at once were desperately attempted, threescore houses being fired upon the Bridge; they followed the fire, and recovered the draw-bridge, and then he brought on his desperate Sea-men, that inured to the water, would adventure far in the fire; but by the directions of the Earle of *Essex*, who with divers Gentlemen were come in ayd of the Citizens, and were there quartered with their men; they had so barricadoed up the Bridge-foot, and planted great Ordnance to scowre the entrance that way, that the forward Bastard seeing no possibilitie of further approach, without apparant destruction, having wit in his anger, made a faire retreat. The Marquesse *Dorset* in the meane time, from the waters side had droven the Cannoneers from their Ordnance. But Captaine *Spicing* at *Algate* wonne the Bulwarke, and drove the Citizens from the Gate, entring pell-mell with them, untill the Portcullis was let fall, when those which had ventured too farre, payed the price of their folly. Alderman *Bassett*, and the Recorder *Yrswicke*, who with a volant Regiment awaited to succour (where need should require) came to the rescue, and causing the Portcullis to be drawne up, made a brave sally forth, and drove the Rebels back beyond *Saint Buitolphs* Church; which Earle *Rivers* Lieutenant observed well, (having all the day awaited with his men for advantage to give assistance) issued out of the Posterne with five hundred well appointed Bow-men, who saluted the Rebels at their backs with such a showre of Arrowes, that they all amazed fled to their shippes, but were pursued, and seven hundred of them were cut off in their flight. Those that assailed *Bishopsgate*, hearing of their fellowes ill successe, shrunk disorderly away, having first fired the Citie in many places; the Ray to quench the rage of the fire, gave the assaylants the quieter meanes of retreat.

The fire upon the Bridge somewhat slaked, Alderman *Tosselne*, with a Company of Citizens drawne from *Leaden-hall*, where the Corps de guard was kept, valiantly (the great Ordnance being first from the Bridge-foot discharged) fell upon the Bastards troopes, and so plyed them with his shot, that they turned back and fled, whom the Alderman followed to *Ratcliffe*, slaughtering all he overtook in their flight, and kept them from going on board their shippes. *Pawson* bridge com-

manded



manded his shippes to fall downe to the Downes, whilst hee with much labour drew together his scattered troopes, and entrenched himselfe at *Black-beath*, comforting his company of the assurance of accession of the Welsh, whom hee affirmed to bee upon march, to come to their assistance; with whose ayd hee promised them to work wonders. But having expected their comming three dayes, victuals growing scarce, and hearing of the Kings approach, hee dismissed his souldiers; taking as many with him as would adventure to Sea, hee left the rest to trie their fortunes on shoare.

King *Edward*, upon the one and twentieth of May, with a great power came to *London*, where hee was triumphantly received; which hee as thankfully requited, giving the Order of Knighthood to the Maior, Recorder, and two Aldermen, *Basset* and *Iosceline*, giving them respective commendations, both for their loyalty and valours, promising, upon the Word of a King, to requite the meanest of his good Citizens loves with ample satisfaction, as soone as the Common-wealth had recovered her quiet, which hee was confident now would be shortly; the clouds that had so long covered it, being almost dispersed. In the meane time the Duke of *Glocester* took an occasion to visite King *Henry* in the Tower, where observing his unmoved behaviour, either out of pity of his unbounded injury, or envie at his so settled patience; that though hee had lost his Crowne, his only Sonne, and all his assured friends, and was hopelesse ever after to see his Wife; the least of which was a losse unvaluable; and now had nothing left him but a little breath, yet hee seemed as though hee had lost nothing: or out of piety (which may be doubted) to send him thither, where hee might repaire all his losses with a much overplus of happinesse; *Glocester* with his Ponyard made a passage for the soule to goe out of the prison of the body, and the body to bee layed to sleep amongst his fore-fathers; and as it were to give the world a taste of that blood-thirsty inclination, and Canniball condition, whereof his ensuing Tragicall murders should give a more ample Testimony, and to guild his Dagger with Royall Blood, having therewith first stabd the Son, (a hopefull young Prince) now he killed the Father, performing to him a mercifull act of an unmercifull actour.

The three and twentieth day of May, being Ascension day, the Corps were conveyed by direction from the Councell, with some little show of solemnity of Funerall rites, to *Pauls Church*, where hee lay all that day with his face uncovered. But that in sight of all the people, there, or at the *Black-Friers*, whither the body was that night conveyed, or in any other place, it bled in that quantity, or in that manner, which the report of many gave out it did, I will not affirme; only say, that true it is, the day following hee was from *Black-Friers* conveyed in a Boate to *Chertsey Abbey*, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, saying or singing, and there buried. But afterwards, at the appointment of King *Edward*, was removed to *Windsor*, and there interred; and a faire Monument made over him.

Thus was hee freed from this thraldome, after hee had groaned under the burden of a Crowne thirty eight yeares, six moneths, and odde dayes. He married, as afore, *Margaret*, Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anion*, by Proxie, in *Lorayne*, at the City of *Tours*, in Saint *Martins Church*, in the presence of the French King and Queene: the King was Uncle to the

An.  
1472.  
R.11.

King Hen-  
ry murder-  
ed.

An.  
1472.  
R.ii.

Brides Father, and the Queene, Aunt to her Mother: King *Henry* by her had issue only *Edward*, butchered as before. This *Margaret* remained Prisoner in *London*, untill shee was ransomed by Duke *Rauner* her Father, and then departed into *France*, where shee lived and died King *Henries* true Widow, that had beene his trustfull Wife.

This King *Henry* in his life time had beene so truly a participant of both prosperity and adversity, that few can goe beyond him in both; If any his Predecessours could paralell him in either. Being nine moneths old hee began his Reigne over *England*, being wisely, warily, and watchfully, guided, guarded, and regarded by his three wise, valiant, and respective Uncles, the Dukes of *Glocester*, *Excester*, and *Bedford*, as long as their triple twisted triumvirate authority subsisted. In the eighth yeare of his Reigne hee was crowned at *westminster*; And in the eleventh yeare of his Reigne hee was crowned King of *France*, in our Lady Church at *Paris*. Thirty yeares hee enjoyed all the benefits of peace within *England*, without any manifest interruption; and what content a bucksome and debonaire Queene could enrich him with. But in the three and thirtieth yeare of his Reigne hee was enforced to fight, after a great defeat given him at *Saint Albones*; And in the eight and thirtieth yeare of his Reigne, his Army was defeated at *Northampton* by great *Warwick*, and there by him taken Prisoner. The yeare following hee is by Queene *Margaret* his Wife set at liberty; but in the same yeare after the overthrow given him at *Mortimers* Crosse, both hee and his Queene were compelled to flie out of the Realme; the one to *Scotland*, the other into *France*. Hee is afterwards taken Prisoner at *Selby* in *Lancashire*, and brought Prisoner to the Tower; from whence hee was shortly delivered and restored by him that first tooke him Prisoner; and last left him there (great *Warwick*) for his sake. *Edward* the fourth is compelled to flie for ayde into *Holland*, and is proclaimed Tarytour, whilst *Henry* againe is vested in Royaltie: But the yeare following he is againe taken Prisoner in the Bishops pallace at *London*, and sent Prisoner to the Tower; for whose releasement, whilst *Warwick* strives, both himselfe and Brother lose their lives at the field fought at *Barnet*; and young Prince *Edward* upon the same occasion is murdered, after the overthrow given to his Mother at *Tembsbury*, besides many of the Royall Blood, and his Noble Friends massacred and butchered in other places; yet hee in both estates so demeaned himselfe, that hee modestly carried the one, and moderately underwent the other; Passion at no time drowning his Judgement, nor Will at any time domineering over his Reason; yea, such was his deportment, that the inconstancy of his state could not alter the constancy of his minde; Insomuch that one of his Successours, King *Henry* the seventh, laboured, for that only vertue, to have had him canonized to bee a Saint, and had obtained to have had it done, had not the charges thereof so farre exceeded mediocrity (for the Fees or Expences to make a King a Saint are much more than the Expences to canonize a Clergie man) which caused him to leave it undone; so that for want of one to disburse the money, King *Henry* lost a Feast day, and his name a place in the Almanack. It is most evident his integrity of life was such, that his Confessour, a grave and reverend Doctor, confidently avouched, That in tenne yeares together, in all which time hee monetily at least received his Confession, hee never could gather that hee had

in thought, word, or deed, committed that, that in his thought might deserve the injunction of penance.

His continency was such, that before his marriage, hee would permit no Woman to have any thing to doe in his Chamber, nor ever would touch woman, but by way of orderly salutation, and that so seldome, that it was taken for a great grace to them so by him saluted.

At a Christmasse time, a Masque of women being presented unto him, whereof some of them showed their (at this day too commonly used) naked breasts, he left the presence, crying, Fie, fie, Ladies, in sooth you are too blame to bare those parts to the eye of man, that Nature appointed modesty to conceale.

He was so farre from Vindicative disposition of injuries, or affronts offered to his Person, that hee would give thanks to God, that did so permit men to punish his transgressions in this life, that so he might escape the punishment for them hereafter.

Hee was so watchfull over his words, that he was never heard to sweare oath; his greatest and most earnest asseveration being for the most part, forsooth, forsooth, or verily, verily.

Hee was so farre from Covetousnesse, that when the Executors of his Uncle (stiled the rich Bishop of Winchester) made offer unto him of two thousand pounds of free gift, hee refused it, wishing them to take care of orderly performance of their duty in duly accomplishing the Testatours Will, and not to consume the estate left them for better uses, in bribery, or unnecessary donations.

Hee was so religiously affected, that hee duly observed his Canonically obedience to the strictest injunction of the Church; and at times of fast (thereby commanded) hee not only observed the abstinence prescribed, but used other uninjoynd meanes of mortification, by wearing haire shirts next his skinned, and tying himselfe to that austerity of life, and strictnesse of discipline, that the strictest and most religious penitentiary could do no more.

Hee was so inclinable to Pity, that when he spied the quarter of a Traytour set over one of the gates of London upon a pole, he caused the same instantly to be taken downe and buried, saying, I will not have such crueltie executed against a Christian after death for my sake; it is enough, if not too much, that he received the punishment of death for his offence.

His Patience was such, that to one that struck him when he was taken prisoner, he only said, forsooth, you wrong your selfe more than mee, to strike the Lords annointed.

To another, that, when hee was in prison, had drawne blood of him with a weapon; when after hee was at liberty, and the partie that had given him the wound was brought before him, hee freely pardoned him, saying, Alas, poore soule, hee strook mee more to winne favour with others, than any ill-will hee bare mee: of that happy memory, that hee never forgot any thing but injury. Lastly, his courage in a good cause appeared in this, that being a little before his death in a peremptorie manner demanded by the Duke of Gloucester, why he had held the Crown so long unjustly from the rightfull Heire, boldly thus answered, My Father was crowned King of England, and quietly, without contradiction, enjoyed the same, as my Grandfather, his Father, had held the same before him: and I but a child was proclaimed undubitate Heire thereto, and

As.  
1472.  
R. 11.



An.  
1472.  
R.II.

was accordingly sacred and crowned King without interruption; first of *England*, and afterwards of *France*; all men to me, as to my Ancestors, swearing and doing fealty and homage; and so I have held *England* well-nigh thirty nine yeares: And therefore I may say with the holy King and Prophet *David*, *My lor is fallen in a faire ground; yea, I have a goodly heritage, my help is in the Lord, which will save the upright in heart.*

His pious intention for provision for competent maintenance for Prophets and Prophets children, appeareth by his testamentary appointment for the building and endowing Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton Colledge* by *Windsor*; and otherlike Donations appointed by his last Will.

King *Edward*, presently after the interment of King *Henry*, drawes his forces toward *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle thereof strongly fortified themselves; who, upon notice of the Kings approach in Person, sent Sir *George Brooks* unto him with this Message; That if hee would vouchsafe them (which they humbly desired) his gracious Pardon, so as they might be assured to have their lives, limmes, and liberty saved, they would surrender into his hands the Castle, with their shipping, and all things therein, and submit themselves in all obedience to his command, and swear (which hitherto they never had done) from thenceforth for ever to continue his faithfull, loyall, and obedient subjects: But if this mercy were denied them, they were resolute to fight it out to the last man, fire the shipping, and sell their lives at the deereſt rate; neither were they so destitute of promised assistance, that they had any just cause to despaire of their relievement, if they should abide the hazzard (being sufficiently victualed to hold out for six moneths) of being besieged.

The Councell having throughly debated of the proposition, by the Kings appointment, and by the instigation of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, they advised the King to attonement with them, and hee accordingly granted their request; and marching to *Canterbury*, there sealed, and from thence sent by the Duke of *Gloceſter* (who now began to affect popularity, and endeere himſelfe to souldiers) their generall Pardon; who bringing it unto them, forgot not to acquaint them with what difficulty hee had obtained the same at the Kings hands.

Upon the receipt thereof, both Castle and ships, to the number of thirteen, are delivered up to the Duke for the Kings use. But how this composition was observed, may bee imagined, when *Fauconbridge* (who was comprised in the same Pardon) was afterwards taken and executed at *Southampton*; And *Spicing* and *Quintine*, the Captaines that assailed *Algate*, and *Bishops-gate* at *London*, and were Commanders, and in *Sandwich* Castle at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at *Canterbury*, and their heads sent to be placed on poles on those gates at *London* they had severally assaulted; And by a commission of *Oyre* and *Terminer*, divers, both in *Essex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this rebellion; but more for that put to fine and ranſome, than death; to the great impoverishing of the Yeomen of *Kent*, and undoing the Gentlemen of *Essex*.

The King upon Whitsun-eve returneth to *London*, where (advised thereto by his Councell) hee sent great *Warwicks* Brother, the Archbishop of *York*, to be kept prisoner in the Castle of *Guisnes*, and the Earle of *Oxford*, (who had submitted himſelfe upon pardon of life only) to the Castle of *Hames*, and layed all the Ports for the stopping of the Earle of *Pembrook*s

going

going out of *England*, which hee neverthelesse afterwards did with the young Earle of *Richmond*.

Ann.  
1472.  
R. 13.

King *Edward*, much displeased with the escape of the Earle of *Pembroke*, but more of that of *Richmond* ( by how much the one could but abet, the other might lay claime ) sent his Letters over to the Duke of *Britaine*, whither those two Earles had found meanes to convey themselves, and were in *Briany* by him kindly entertained; intimating therein his earnest desire, either to have them sent over to him, or at least watchfully kept from attempting any thing ( which hee had just cause to suspect they would ) to his prejudice, by their being at liberty; with many promises of thankfull respect, for this courtesie if granted, and for an earnest thereof, sent him a token worthy the receiving, which so prevailed with the Duke, that the two Earles were debarred each others company, and all their English attendants taken from them, and *Britons* appointed in their places; which somewhat satisfied the King of *England*, but gave no content to the English Gentlemen in *France*.

Ann.  
1473.  
R. 13.

A Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein all acts formerly made by him, are confirmed. And those that King *Henry* after his redemption of the Crowne had abrogated, were revived: And an Ordinance made for the confiscation of all their lands and goods, that had taken part against him, and were fled; with a restauration of all such as for his part had beene attainted both to blood and patrimony.

Towards his charges, in this Parliament, a competent summe of money is voluntarily given, and in respect thereof a generall pardon is granted.

The Duke of *Burgoyne*, willing that his courtesies formerly done to his brother-in-law should be thought upon, and willing to ingulph him in the warres of *France*, that he in the meane time might have the better opportunity to work some malicious stratagem against the French King; sends over Embassadors, with ample instructions, to sollicite the King of *England*, to set on foot his title to the Crowne of *France*, making great offers with protestations, to ayd and assist him therein both with purse and person.

The Embassadors have audience, and after much debating the point amongst the Privie Councell, it was thus amongst them concluded.

1 That the Crowne of *France* was not ambitionly affected; but the title thereof legally challenged as the unquestionable right of the now King of *England*.

2 That the French warres ( if orderly pursued ) alwayes enriched English Souldiers.

3 That *France* being made the seat of the warre, it would keep them from making invasion on *England*, and hinder them from supporting any against the King of *England*.

4 That the French King had in an unsufferable fashion given an affront to the King of *England*, in ayding and abetting *Queene Margaret*, and her trayterous complices, against him, and prohibiting any his true subjects to reside within his territories, and in continually sending combustible stuffe to feed the fire of rebellion, which had so disquieted the Common-wealth of *England*.

5 That the King of *France* infested the Duke of *Burgoyne* Countries with warres, who was a Friend and Colleague with the King of *England*, and one that was in league with him, both offensive and defensive.

Therefore this proposition from the Duke of *Burgoyne*, to undertake the warres

An.  
1473.  
R. 13.

warres against France, was to bee approved of, as being both lawfull and behooffull for the honour of the King, and the good of the Kingdome;

But the meanes how to pursue the warre being once under-taken, was another cause considerable. For treasure (the sinewes of warre) was wanting, and to procure a supply by Parliamentary courses, would take up too much time. They were therefore drueh to find out and set on foot a project, till then unheard of, which was to draw by way of benevolence from the subject, a seeming voluntary (howsoever often very unwillingly payed) contribution, thereby to supply the want of money for the pursuance of these these warres.

To this end, divers Commissioners are assigned, with letters to the Knights and Gentlemen, and severall instructions are sent into every County; who did therein so effectually comply themselves to doe the King service, that by their perswasions, most men of abilitie, did enlarge their contributions to this so faire an enterprise, and readily departed with their money. And a Kings kisse to a sparing and therefore a rich Widdow, amongst many others, drawne in by Court holy water to make oblation, brought in twenty pounds more than was demanded, for that being but twenty, she gave forty.

It is almost a matter of admiration in these dayes, how in those dayes, the King could out of this little Island, be furnished with able men for his warres; old men, women, and children, with sufficient meat to put in their mouthes; the Clergy, and Schollers with competent maintenance; and the Markets with necessary provision; considering the infinite number of those in the late Civill broyles slaughtered, the paucitie of Ploughmen and Husbandmen, the want of Farmers, and the indigency of Cattell wherewith to stock their Farmes, infinite quantities of ground lying unmanured, or tilled, and the Pastures and Downes without Sheep or Cattell; the generall spoyle and wastment, which the Souldiers, wheresoever they came, (and that was almost every where) in this Kingdome made, and the generall ceasing and neglect of commerce or traffick, the shipping not daring to stir abroad, the danger being so great, to be robbed and spoiled either by home-bred Pyrats, or forraigne foes; yet, such was Gods great mercies, that every one of these respectively were supplied, and did subsist without any notable defect, or extraordinary want.

A Kings  
kisse to a  
rich Wi-  
dow pro-  
cured 40.l.  
where but  
20.l. was  
expected.

Ann.  
1473.  
R. 14.  
The Duke  
of Exce-  
ter  
found  
dead.

Henry Holland, Duke of Excester, and Earle of Huntington, dis-inherited by Act of Parliament, with Henry Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Earle of Devonshire, in the fourth yeere of King Edward the fourth, was this yeere found dead, stript naked betwixt Dover and Callice; but how he came by his death, no inquiry could bring to light: He married Anne daughter of Richard Duke of York, and sister to Edward the fourth, but had no issue by her: she was after married to Sir Thomas Sayleogor, and had issue by him a daughter, married to George Maunsell, Lord Rosse of Hamleth.

Provision for this French expedition of all things necessary, being thoroughly made, and undertaken for the quiet government of the Kingdome in his absence; and the stop of incursions, if any should by the Scots bee made; King Edward with an Army of fiftie thousand men at armes, and all of the Nobility and Gentry gallantly mounted, and wel attended with fifteen thousand Archers on horse back, eight thousand common souldiers (whereof five thousand were sent to Brittain) and three thousand Pioners to attend the Ordnance and guard the Carriage, came downe to Dover, whither the Duke of Burgoyne had sent five hundred skutes, or flat bottom'd boats to transport



transport the horse to *Callice*: yet notwithstanding that he's, it was above two and twenty dayes before the Kings forces were all past over to *Callice*. Before the Kings departure from *Dover*, because hee would witnesse to the World his faire and legall proceeding, hee sent an Herald named *Gorter*, a *Norman* by birth, with a letter of defiance, in faire and fitting termes, requiring the French King to yeeld unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable inheritance, by the French King unjustly detained from him; which if he should dare to deny, that then he was to expect from *England*, but what the extremity of the sword, and the calamities of warre, could bring upon him and his Countrey. This letter the French King read, and withdrawing himselfe, caused the Herald to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoine* and the Constable (by whose trayterous instigation, and not of his owne inclination, he knew the King of *England* intended to visit *France*) would but delude him, for they were dissemblers and impostors: And therefore said, it would conduce more to the honour and content of the King of *England*, to continue in league with mee, though an old adversary, than to hazzard the fortune of the warres, upon the promised assistance, of new-come deceivers, such as those two will prove. And so commend me to the King thy Master, and say, what I have told thee. And so with an \*honourable reward dismissed the Herald, who returned to the King of *England* to *Callice*; and there returned the French Kings answer.

This advice, though from an enemy, if followed, had saved the King of *England*, a great deale of money: For the Duke of *Burgoin*, notwithstanding his promise in the word of a Prince not to faile, was not at the time and place appointed, ready with his forces, which should have beene by pact and promise, two thousand Lanceers, and foure thousand Stradiots or light horses. Whereupon, the Lord *Scales* is by the King of *England*, sent to the Duke to put him in minde of his promise, and to hasten his comming with his promised forces. But the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small Troop of horse, to come unto the King of *England*, formally to excuse himselfe, for being so backard; in that he having with his forces been imbroyle in the siege of *Nanis*, could not depart thence without infinite disgrace, if neither composition or submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespassse upon his brother-in-lawes patience, to have longer expected his coming, hee was by the obstinacy of the besieged enforced to doe. But promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

The Constable likewise by letters, perswades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt from the Duke and himselfe, but to be sufficiently accommodated every way, and seconded.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, marcheth on: but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes, or Constables part. For the first did not at their comming to *Peroone* accommodate the souldiers with victuall or lodging, in that manner as was requisite and expected. And the other in stead of surrendring up of *S. Quintains*, according to the agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the King of *England* to receive the same, playing upon them with their great Ordnance. Wheretupon King *Edward* comparing the last daies words with this daies actions, began to suspect the truth of the Kings description of the Duke & Constables condition,

An.  
1474.  
R. 14.  
K. Edward  
writes to  
the French  
King.

\* Three  
hundred  
Crownes  
in gold  
and thirty  
yards of  
red Vel-  
vet.

The Duke  
of *Burgoin*  
excuseth  
his breach  
of promise.

The Con-  
stable re-  
promiseth  
aide.

Ann.

1474.

R. 14.

Burgoyne  
departeth,  
promising  
speedy re-  
turne.

The policy  
of the  
French  
King.

King Ed-  
ward sends  
an Herald  
of armes  
to Lewis.

\* S. Leeger.

condition, and from thence forward stood upon his own guard, and gave no further credence to any of their protestations, which the Duke of *Burgoyne* resenting, pretending earnest occasions for the hastning forward of his forces, and promising speedy returne with them, taketh his leave and departeth, wherewith the English are displeased, and King *Edward* not a little disquieted.

The French King having intelligence of the Dukes departure, forecasting the worst, suspecteth that the Duke was (with an intent to returne) gone to bring on his power, well knowing that if they should unite their forces, his Crowne was in great hazzard to be pluckt from him. Neverthelesse, hee thought that winter being so neer, they could not well keep the field; howsoever, being his crafts Master, and politick enough to work his own ends, which he seldom failed in, he resolved with himselfe to assay what might be done to mediate a peace with the English in *Burgoyne's* absence; and yet so to retreat, that if it took not effect, he might disclame the knowledge of the overturn: He therefore privately dispatcheth a Messenger in show of an Herhought, indeed hee was a fellow neither of Office or estimation; and not knowne to any of the Kings household, but to *Villeers* the Master of the horse, who onely was acquainted with the plot and partie. This counterfeit Pursevant at armes, with a Coat made of a Trumpets Banner roule, addressed himselfe to the King of *England*, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the French Kings desire; which was to have Commissioners on both parts consigned to conferre of the meanes to reconcile the differences betwixt the two Kings; at least-wise to conclude the cessation from warres, for some time; and so well this messenger delivered his arrand, that it was credited, and his request granted; and with a reward and a letter of safe conduct, for such as should be employed from the French King in this businesse, is returned: an Herhaught likewise from King *Edward*, is sent to King *Lewis*, for the like letter of safe conduct to be sent for those, that from the English Camp, should be employed in this negotiation, which is accordingly granted; and at a Village neere *Amiens* the Commissioners meet.

For King *Edward*, appeare the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony* \* *Chalenger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

For King *Lewis*, came the Admirall of *France*, the Lord *S. Peirs* and *Heberg* Bishop of *Eureux*.

After long conference, the Articles of peace were concluded on, to this effect.

1 The French King was to pay presently to the King of *England*, three-score and fiftene thousand Crownes: And from thence forth annually pay, fifty thousand Crownes during the life of King *Edward*.

2 That within one yeere, the French King should send for the Princessse *Elizabeth* the King of *Englands* Daughter, and joyne her in marriage to the *Dolphin*: And for their maintenance for nine yeers, the French King agreed to allow them fifty thousand Crownes *per annum*: and that time expired, they should peaceably be invested in the possession of the Dutchy of *Guyen*, for the better supportation of their estate.

3 That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheney*, Master of the horse, should remaine in Hostage there, untill the Army had altogether quitted *France*, and were returned into *England*, and a generall peace for nine yeeres, wherein *Burgoyne* and *Brittaine* are included, if they will accept thereof. The way

way made the easier for the compassing this so profitable a conclusion, by *Lewis* his offering to every Saint a Candle; for he distributeth sixteen thousand Crownes amongst King *Edwards* Councillors and favorites, two thousand Crownes to *Hastings* the Kings Chamberlaine, and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Iohn Cheney*, Sir *Arthur Challenger* or *Sellinger*, and *Mountgomery*, the residue; besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferior Officers of the Court.

The motives that induced King *Edward* the sooner to condescend to this accord, were:

1. The vacillation and instabilitie of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Constable, they never performing any the agreements really concluded on.
2. The extremitie of winter approaching, the present want of fodder, and the not having any strong place or Fort, to shelter the souldiers in.
3. The impossibility of raising any more great forces for reliefe, if necessitie should require to be seconded, the late Civill warres having almost eaten out the most and best souldiers in *England*.

4. The emptinesse of the Treasury, and all wayes of supply being taken off.

The Duke of *Glocester* onely, whose braines were busie at work, about great designes, the easie compassing whereof, he deemed impossible, in case the warres with *France* were not pursued, opposed this accord, nevertheless, it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who thereupon only with fifteen hundred horse, posts to the *English* Camp. At his first arrivall, he discovers his inward passion by his outward countenance. But he came too late to prevent what was done. King *Edward* persuades him to enter into the peace according to the reservation. But *Charles* reproacheth King *Edward* for entring into such a truce, saying, that King *Edwards* predecessors had with their Armies performed many brave and notable exploits upon the *French*, and purchased thereby fame and reputation, and that he had brought his souldiers but to shew them the Countrey and returne as they came; adding therewithall, that to make it appeare to the world, that he was able without the help of the *English*, to subsist of himselfe, he disclaimed any benefite by that truce, or any other reconciliation with the *French*, untill three moneths after the *English* had remained in their own Countrey. But when King *Edward* not well pleased with this *French* bravado, retorted unto him the base and forgetfull neglect, both on the Constables part, and his, of not being their words Masters; The Duke in a great snuffe returnes to *Luxenburg* from whence he came.

For the better confirmation of what was agreed upon, and settling of amitie betwixt the two Kings, an interview is desired, but before the same is effectuated, the *French* King sends unto the *English* Army, an hundred Tun of *Gascoyne* Wine, to be drunk out amongst the private souldiers, and therewith free licence at pleasure for Commanders and Gentlemen of rank and qualitie, to recreate themselves in *Amiens*, where they were freely and fairely entertained by the Burgers at the Kings expresse commandement. The Commanders in chiefe at their returne, were well rewarded with jewels and plate, for their faire deportment, and the orderly carriage of their souldiers during the abode there: and not without good cause, for had not their behaviour been the better, the number of those that were there, had been sufficient to have done much mischief, or made themselves Masters of the Towne. A place of interview of these two Kings is agreed on, and against the time appointed, all things are orderly prepared & readily fitted at the charge

An.  
1474.  
R. 14.

*Burgoyne*  
comes to  
the *English*  
Camp.

Returnes  
displeased.

The  
*French*  
King libe-  
rally re-  
wardeth  
the good  
carriage of  
the *Eng-  
lish*.

The man-  
ner of the  
interview  
of the two  
Kings.



Ann.  
1474.  
A.14.

of the French King by the English Carpenters; foure of the Bed-Chamber on both sides are appointed to search the contrary end of the roome, to prevent traps or instruments of treachery, least any thing might be plotted or practised to the prejudice of their Masters. They returne, certifying *Omnia bene*, the Kings advance themselves, King *Edward* being come in sight of the place, maketh a stand, as being told, the omission of any circumstance, in point of honour, might reflect upon not wisely forecasting all passages of state, and knowing to attend the first offer of the ceremony, would much take off from the dignity of his state; which although King *Lewis* perhaps did apprehend, yet he would not stand to straining of courtesie, and fearing to lose the faire opportunitie, to give two blowes with one stone, (free himselfe from their presence whose breath was too hot for his company, and weaken thereby the arme of an overweening neighbour,) he gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleasure, whilst he came first to the barre appointed for conference, and there did attend King *Edward*'s leisure; he had in his company *John Duke of Bourbon*, with his brother the Cardinall, and was attended with eight hundred men at armes. King *Edward* comes with his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, (*Glocester* wanting moderation with patience to admit a Court complement, in the sight of an Army with a French man, excused, his not comming) the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlaine and Chancellor, and at his back his whole Army in battell array. The Kings lovingly embrace each other, and Court cringes and complements of courtesie reciprocally passe; which finished, they with their Nobles then present, all take their oaths upon the holy Evangelists, in all things *pro posse*, to observe the Articles of accord concluded on, as afore. Then all were commanded to withdraw themselves, whilst the two Kings fall into private conference, concerning the Dukes of *Burgoyne* and *Britany*. *Lewis* leaves not a string untoucht, that might make musick for his profit. And having felt the King of *England*'s pulse not to beat over-strongly on behalfe of his brother-in-law, and that on his part he desired but respite, untill he might receive answer of a message he would send to the Duke, and that if he refused to accept of the benefit of the accord, he would leave him to the French Kings pleasure; he leaves further speech of him, and earnestly importunes that *Britain* might be left out of their Articles, which King *Edward* utterly denies, affirming that he had found the Duke an open-hearted and open-handed friend to him in his extremitie, and therefore would not now leave him unregarded. *Lewis* observing *Edward*'s countenance in delivery of those words, thought it no policy to strain that string any higher, but with all courtesie takes his leave, giving many kind words, and some tokens of favour to some Noblemen, and all the officers, and so departeth; yet after he was gone, not throughly digesting the King of *England*'s defence of the Duke of *Britaine*, he makes a second motion unto him to the former purpose by letter; from whom he received this resolute answer, That if the French King desired the friendship of *England*, he should not molest the Duke of *Britaine*, for he was resolved in person to come at any time for his defence, if the Duke of *Britaine* were disturbed: whereupon King *Lewis* rested satisfied, though not contented; whilst King *Edward* foreflowed no time to acquaint the Duke of *Britaine* with all the passages; some think that had not the desire of compassing the Earle of *Richmond* and *Pembrook*, now in the Duke of *Britaine*'s Countneys, been a better motive than any respect unto the Duke, the French King might have had better successe in his requests: King *Edward* to

K. Edward  
could not  
be drawne  
from ay-  
ding the  
Duke of  
Britaine.

give

give King *Lewis* a taste of his respect towards him (notwithstanding his deniall of the proposition, for the Duke of *Britaine*) sends a messenger unto him, to acquaint him with the treachery of the Constable against him; and to carry the more credit of the truth of what was intimated, he sent two Letters written with the Constables own hand, which were sufficient testimonies to accuse and convince the Constable of those crimes wherewith afterwards King *Edward* charged him.

The money to be payd by the Articles, is borrowed of the *Parisians*, (so willing they were to see the Englishmens backs) and accordingly payed over, and the hostages are delivered; whereupon the Army retires to *Callice*, and from thence are transported into *England*; and performance of the agreement, to the content of both parts, made; the hostages are with great promises and rewards re-delivered.

Some forbear not to say, that King *Edward* lost more honour in this voyage, than he had purchased in nine victories before gotten; but they were such as measure Kings actions by the crooked levell of their own erroneous fancies. But those of better understanding affirme, that it had been a great error in judgement for the King to be longer absent from his so late conquered Kingdome; but great wisdom and policy in him, to take hold upon such an occasion to come off so fairely with a match for his daughter; which had it taken effect, had sufficiently recompensed his charge and trouble. But private men must not dispute the actions of Princes. And further to examine the reason of what in this kind at this time was done, might give occasion of discourse, but not instruction. King *Edward* being returned into *England*, not unmindfull that a great storme might follow, though but a small cloud as yet appeared, dispatched Embassadors to the Duke of *Britain*, to perswade with him to have the young Earle of *Richmond* sent over unto him; for that he desired to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cecily* his younger daughter; this faire overture of marriage, or rather the feeling mediation of angels (whereof some store were sent, but more promised) so prevailed with the Duke, that upon the receipt of the summe sent, the Earle of *Richmond* is delivered to the Embassadors, who thence conducted him to *St. Malos*; where whilst they stayed for a wind, by the cunning advice and plotting of the Dukes Treasurer, (who, as it may be by the sequell gathered, not well pleased not to have been treated withall, according to that Court-custome, with a feeling respect; more than ordinary proportion, or common gratuitie, being inseparably incident to his treasurers place, he more for scorne to be so neglected, than love to *Richmond*) so plots, that the young Earle escapes into Sanctuary; from whence nor promises nor prayers could procure him. Neverthelesse, upon *Peter Londons* his promise, he should be safely kept there, the Embassadors without their merchandize or money departed, to the no little discontent of the King, who grieved much that the lamb had escaped his woolvis intention. But being taught the rule, what he could not avoyd, he made shew to receive willingly; he for that time said little.

At Christmas following, he created his eldest son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*; his second son, Duke of *York*; giving the order of Knighthood to the son and heire of the Earle of *Lincolne*, and many others. He created foure and twenty Knights of the Bath, upon the creation of the Prince of *Wales*, whereof *Bryan* chiefe Justice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the common Pleas, were two. Thus whilst King *Edward* in *England* lived

An.  
1474.  
R.14.

An.  
1475.  
R.15.  
King *Edward* attempteth by a colourable pretence, to procure *Richmonds* person to be delivered to him. Delivered to the Embassadors.

Escapeth into Sanctuary.

*Ann.* lived in peace and quiet, the turbulent Duke of *Burgoyne*, never constant, but  
*1475.* alwayes in contention, reaped the triple fruit thereof this yeare at three se-  
*R.15.* verall times. The first at *Ganson*, where he lost some honour, but more wealth. The second, at *Morat*, where he lost more honour, and many men. The last at *Nancy*, where he not onely lost men, money, and reputation, but life also by the *Switzers*, whom he had driven to a desparate resolution, and then not in hope to escape, but to sell their lives (when submission would not be accepted) at the dearest rate, they fought and prevailed.

*An.* Now begins *Richard* Duke of *York*, to set on foot his untill then close contrived devilish devises, to compass the attainment of the crown of *England*, and for the first scene of the ensuing tragedy, to facilitate his passage, he secretly begins to withdraw the Kings affection from his brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and to that purpose surreth unto him, that some of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Negromancers, and that they had given forth speeches, that one whose christen name began with the letter *G.* should disinherit his children, and carry the crowne of *England*; and to put some varnish upon this suggestion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his servants, which came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was borne, is in his Masters absence (he being then in the Countrey) by the procurement underhand of *Glocester*, endighted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyborne* for conjuration, and all within the space of two dayes; hereof the Duke of *Clarence*, being thereto irritated by his brother *Glocester*, grievously complains to King *Edward*, who instead of giving redresse (suspecting now the truth of the Duke of *Glocesters* buzz) took an occasion likewise by *Glocesters* advice (howsoever he made a glozing shew to *Clarence*, of being jealous of his honour, and disliking of the Kings disrespect, as he termed it, of his brothers abuse) to frame a colour to commit *Clarence* to the Tower, where his loving Brother *Richard* (not as it was feared without the Kings privitie) took that order that he should not (for so he faithfully promised him upon his first commitment) lie long in prison, before he would procure his release, that he was drowned in a But of *Malmsey*, and then layd in his bed, to perswade the people that he dyed of discontent.

*Clarence*  
drowned.

This *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was Earle of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, Lord of *Richmond*, and great Chamberlaine of *England*; he married *Isabell*, daughter and co-heire of *Richard Nevill*, the great Earle of *Warwick*; by whom he had issue, *Edward*, afterwards Earle of *Warwick*, who dyed without issue, and *Margaret*, married to Sir *Richard Pole*, Knight, who had issue, *Henry* Lord *Mountayne*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinall.

The Pestilence about this time, raged with that fury in most parts of this Kingdome, that the sword in fiftene yeares before, devoured not so many as that did in foure moneths.

*An.* The King upon some present occasion, sent to the Citizens of *London*, a  
*1480.* privie seale, for the loane of five thousand marks for a yeare, which were pre-  
*R.20.* sently provided, and at the time prefixed as orderly repayed, which with the royall entertainment he gave them (upon invitation at *Windsor*) and the store of Venson sent by him with them, to make merry with their wives at home, so wonne the hearts and affections of the *Londoners*, both male and female, that from thenceforth no pleasure was denied that they could procure him. The *Scots* make an inrode into *Northumberland*; against whom the Duke of *Glocester* was sent with some power, but they were retreated before his comming.



*James* King of *Scotland*, shortly afterward sent Embassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest son *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, and *Cecily* the Kings second daughter. This overture for a match was by King *Edward* and his Councell embraced, and divers great sums of money, as part of her portion, were delivered to the *Scots*, but with this proviso, that if the marriage did not take effect, that the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh*, should be bound to repay the same. This *James* King of *Scotland*, was too much wedded to his own opinion, and could not endure any mans advice, (how good soever it were) that he fancied not; he would seldome aske counsell, but never follow any, by reason whereof, such of his Councell, as more respected the honour of the Kingdome, and the publike good, than what should be pleasing to his private conceits or peculiar fancy, did divers times reap exilement, and ill will, for truth speaking, and well meaning; so that the way to win his favour, could not be found out or followed, but by flattery, whereby few or none but Thrafonicall parasites, and Camelion time-pleasers would follow the Court, or continue their places therein. Hence came it that many ignoble affronts were offered to the King of *England*, and more disrespects done to his owne Nobility. Insomuch, that his brother, the Duke of *Albany*, was enforced to abandon the Countrey, and to fly for refuge into *England*, where he was by King *Edward* respectively entertained. From him was the King of *England* truly informed of the weak disposition of King *James*, wherewith King *Edward* was so much incensed, that he made speedy preparation of a competent Army, which being sufficiently accommodated with all necessaries for the field, under the conduct of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, they marched towards *Scotland*. The Duke in the way took in *Berwick*, and besieged the Castle, which was resolutely defended by the Earle *Bothwell*. The Duke perceiving no good to be done against the Castle, but by famishing them, having sufficiently taken course to secure the towne from sallies, leaving the Lord *Stanley* behind to continue the siege, he with the residue of the Army marched toward *Edenborough*, where within the Castle of *Maydens*, the King of *Scotland* had immur'd himselfe.

An.  
1482.  
R.22.

The Nobilitie of *Scotland*, observing the miserable spoyle that the *English* Army did, and the impossibilitie to prevent it by opposition, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a peace, at least a cessation from wars, which with much importunitie they obtained at the hands of the Generall, under these Conditions.

1. That full satisfaction should be presently given to the *English*, for all damages and wrongs done by the late incursions.

2. That the Duke of *Albany* (whose friendship the Generall laboured to be made firme unto him) should be fully restored to grace, place, and whatsoever had been taken or withheld from him, by the King his Brother, and an abolition of all former discontents betwixt them.

3. That the Castle of *Barwick* should immediately be surrendred into the Generalls hands, and from thence no reduction either of that, or the towne, attempted.

4. That all such sums of money, as had been upon the proposition of the marriage, as aforesaid, delivered, should be repayed, or that befitting securitie should be given by the Provost and Citizens of *Edenborough* for the orderly repayment thereof at the Tower of *London*, (at some reasonable time, before the day prefixed) in case King *Edward* should signifie unto them, that there should not be any further prosecution of the said proposition of

marriage.

Ann.  
1480.  
R.22.

marriage. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed. A generall pardon, and loving Letters from the King, are sent unto the Duke of *Albany*, with an authentick instrument, under the common scale of the Provost and Citizens of *Edenborough*, for the performance of that part that belonged to them, to the Duke of *Glocester*, who upon the receipt thereof, and the surrender of the Castle of *Berwick*, with all Ordnance and Amunition therein, ( of which, and of the Towne, the Lord *Stanley* with a competent number of Souldiers to guard the same, being made Captain,) the Generall, with the rest of the Army, joyfully returned for *England*; leaving nothing undone by the way to endere himselfe to the good opinion of the Captaines, and the applause of the common Souldiers.

The faire proceedings in the Scottish Expedition, did not bring so much content to the King of *England*, but the dishonourable and forgetfull breach of oath of the *French* King, did much more molest and trouble him. For he had received certaine intelligence from his Embassador-leiger, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the annuall tribute of five thousand Crownes, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded peace, betwixt the Kings and Kingdomes of *England* and *France*, but had also married the Dolphyn of *France* to the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *Maximilian* the son of the Emperour; and thereby notoriously infringed both the Article concluded for a match between him and the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edwards* daughter, and thereby broken his faith for the performance thereof so solemnly plighted; which much incensed the King of *England*, and so much the more, by how much the care to provide a fitting match for his daughter, when he deemed it to be past, was now to begin to be taken: he resolves therefore to vindicate this unsufferable disgrace offered his daughter, by punishment of the *French* Kings perjury; and herewith acquaints his Councell, who unanimously conclude open warres to be proclaimed, and provision to be prepared, to prosecute the same to the uttermost. In this businesse the Duke of *Glocester* was not slack, but daily (though he knew it needlesse) did inculcate to the King his brother, how much it did import his honour, to draw his sword, and not to sheath it, untill *Lewis* for expiation of his injury, had submitted his Crowne to the rightfull owner, and given the King of *England* possession thereof. And did make proffer both of purse and person, to give him assistance therein to the uttermost. Preparation for the invasion of *France* is making in every place, to which the King is very proclive. But whilst he is intentive in the businesse, he is suddenly attached by the hand of death, and without *Glocesters* hand, though not without his wish, upon the ninth of *Aprill* 1483. at *Westminster* departed this mortall life, and was buried at *Windsor*.

Ann.  
1483.  
R.23.

He was, saith Sir *Thomas More*, of goodly personage, and Princely aspect, couragious in heart, politick in counsell, not much amated in adversitie, and rather joyfull than proud in prosperitie. In war fierce and resolute, in the field active and valiant; never ventrous beyond reason, nor forward beyond discretion: in peace, for the most part, just and mercifull; of comely countenance, of body strong and straight, but in his later dayes, with ease, and over-liberall diet, somewhat enclining to corpulency, but far from uncomeliness. In his youthfull yeares, he was a little too too much fleshy given, from which, without the more grace of God, youth in health is hardly restrained; This fault could not greatly grieve the subject, for neither could one mans pleasure displease all, ( if it be done without rape or violence) neither is it per-

manent

manent; for he that is most salacious in youth, if he will not leave it, in older yeares it will leave him.

He kept his subjects not in a constrained feare, but in a willing obedience, labouring by all meanes to keep them at peace amongst themselves, reconciling all differences amongst the Nobilitie, whereof he had notice, with which he concluded the last scene of this lives act.

He had issue by *Elizabeth* his wife,

*Edward*, his eldest son, borne the fourth of *November* 1471. in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*.

*Richard*, borne at *Shrewsbury*, murdred with his brother in the Tower.

*George*, borne at *Shrewsbury*, who dyed young.

*Elizabeth*, borne at *Westminster* the eleventh of *February* 1466. Shee was promised in marriage to *Charles* the Dolphyn of *France*, but deceived; courted by her unnaturall Uncle the Usurper, but deluded; but afterwards happily married to *Henry* the seventh.

*Cicely*, treated to be espoused to the Prince of *Scotland*, but used like her sister; shee was afterward first married to *John* Vicount *Wells*, whom she survived, and took for a second husband one *Kyme* of *Lincolnshire*, but dyed without issue.

*Anne*, married to Sir *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, but dyed without issue living.

*Bridget* lived a professed Nun at *Darford*.

*Mary*, who was contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but dyed before consummation.

*Margaret*, who dyed in her infancy.

*Katherine*, who was married to *William Courtney*, Earle of *Devon*, who had issue by him, *Henry*, afterwards Marquesse of *Exceter*.

Besides these legitimate, he had two naturall children.

*Arthur Plantagenet*, begotten of the body of *Elizabeth Lucy*, married to *Elizabeth*, sister and heire of *John* Vicount *Lisley*; by whom he had issue, three daughters, which all had issue.

1. *Bridget*, married to Sir *William Cardan*, Knight.

2. *Francis*, first married to *John Bassett*, then to *Thomas Monck* of *Devon*.

3. *Elizabeth*, married to Sir *John Iephson*, Knight.

*Elizabeth*, begotten of the body of *Beatrix* the Lady *Anguish*, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley*, and by him had issue, *Richard*, Lord *Lumley*, and *George Lumley*.

The King the night before his death, having before observed some discourteous passages to have gone betwixt the kindred of his Queen and some of the Nobles, but principally between the Queen and the Lord Chamberlaine, (for women that have been widdowes, commonly maligne them most whom their husbands esteeme much of, nor out of malice but nature) caused them all to come to his bed-side, to whom he said, holding the Queene by the hand;

My Lords, deare Kinsmen, and Allyes, in what plight I lye, you may discern, but I feele; wherefore the lesse while I look to live with you, the more deeply I am moved, to be carefull in what case I shall leave you. For I am confident, such as I leave you, my children shall find you. And if (as God forbid) they should find you at variance, they may unhappily fall at jarre themselves, before they have capabilitie of discretion to set attone-ment between you.

You

An.  
1483.  
R.23.



*Ann.*  
1483.  
*R. 23.*

You see the tendernesse of their yeares ; the onely securitie therefore of their well-being, must consist in your concord. For it sufficeth not, if all of you respectively affect them, if any of you stomach the other, if they were men, your integritie happily might be sufficient. But childhood must be refulcrated by wise mens authoritie, and slippery youth underpropped with elder Counsell; neither of which they can have, except you give it, neither can you give it, unlesse you accord together.

For when each laboureth to pluck downe what another setteth up, and for hatred to each others person, impugneth each others counsell, it must be long before any good conclusion goe forward. And whilst each laboureth for superiority, flattery shall have more place, than plaine and faithfull advice ; from whence of necessitie must ensue the untoward education of the young Prince, whose mind in tender youth, infected with loosenesse of disposition, will (naturally thereto enclined) slip into ryot and mischief, and so be the meanes of his own and this Kingdomes ruine, except God send the greater blessing, and through his grace make him apply his heart to wisdom, which if (as God grant he may) he shall attaine unto, then they that by sinister perswasion, and evill advice, flattered him at first most, and pleased him best, shall afterward fall furthest out of his favour; for politick plots and vitious courtes, ever at length shall reap the sowre, when good and wholsome counsell, though at first not embraced, shall prove sweet and wholsome.

I remember it to my griefe, that there hath been discord among you, a great time, not alwayes for great causes, but poore mistakings, sometimes a thing right well intended towards us, our mis-interpretation turneth to ill ; or a small displeasure done us, is either by our own ill affection or evill togu e exasperated: Yet this I wot well, you never had so good occasion of emulation, as you have of unfeigned affection.

That we be all men, all natives of one Nation, nay, all Christians, and adopted brethren in Christ, I leave for Preachers to tell you ; and yet I am uncertaine, whether any Preachers words ought to have more power to move you, than his that is your Sovereigne Lord, and is by and by to goe to that place, that they all preach of.

But this I shall instantly desire you, to print in your memory, that the one part of you are my own flesh and blood, the other of my Allyance ; and each of you with other, of consanguinitie or offinitie : And this spirituall conjunction by affinitie (if the Sacraments of Christs Church, hold that estimation with us, which they ought, and I wish with all my soule they did) should no lesse move to mutuall charity, than the bare respect of fleshly consanguinitie. Jesus forbid, that you should live and love together the worse, for the selfe same cause for which you ought to love the better; and yet that of late (the more the pitie) hath too often falne out amongst us : And seldome is there found more deadly fewd, than amongst them, which by right and reason ought most affectionately to live together. But such a bewitching serpent is Ambition, and appetite of vaine-glory and soveraigntie, that amongst states where shee once entereth, shee slideth onward so swiftly, and maketh forward so fast and so farre, that shee seldome stops, nor leaves wrigling and wrangling, untill by dissention and division, shee have infected all that are neere her. And first those that be poysoned by her, are carried away with a vehement desire to be next the best, then to walk hand in hand with the best, and lastly, to transcend the best, not brooking any equall, or allowing any superior.

Through

*Ann.*  
1483.  
*R.23.*

Through this immoderate affecting of titular worship, and borrowed respect of popularitie, and thereby of debate and separation, what detriment, what trouble, what sorrow within these few yeares, hath growne in this Realme? I pray God aswell forget, as we have too much cause to our griefe to remember: which events, if I could then aswell have foreseene, as I have with my more paine than pleasure now proved; By Gods blest Lady, I would never have wonne the courtesies of mens knees, with the losse of so many their friends heads; but since what is past cannot be recalled, we ought to be the more circumspect, that by that occasion we have suffered such infinite mischiefs before, that we estoones fall not into the like againe.

Intestine broyles are now passed, and the Lord be praised the republike is at quiet; and this Kingdome in outward appearance in a faire likelihood to prosper in wealth and peace, under my children your Cosins, if God send them life, and you reciprocall love, of which two things, the lesse losse would be they, by whom, though God did his pleasure, yet should the Kingdome alwayes find Kings, and peradventure as good Kings.

But if you amongst your selves, in an Infants reigne fall at variance, many a good Christian shall perish, and haply He and you too before this Land shall againe find the sweetnesse of peace. Therefore in these last words that your dying King shall ever deliver unto you, I earnestly exhort you, and instantly adjure you, and every one of you, for the love that I have ever borne you, for the love of your own soules, and for the love that our blessed Saviour beares unto us all: That from this time forward (all discontents drowned, unkindnesse buried, and grudges forgotten,) each of you embrace one anothers friendship, and unfeignedly love each the other, which I am confidently perswaded you will, if you regard any earthly thing that is good, if you respect God, your King, your native Countrey, the quiet of the Kingdome, kindred, or affinitie, nay, your own safetie, and soules health.

And so unable to use any longer speech, he sunke downe into his bed, turning his eyes towards them, and by his countenance exprest, how desirous he was, to have that which he had imparted unto them, imprinted in their memory; and that he would have added more, if able to perswade their mutuall atonement, and reciprocabilitie of reall abolition of all former disagreement, and unfeigned entertainment of future loving affection.

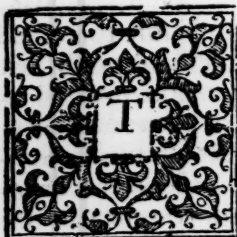
The hearers (as the sequell proved) more at that time to give him content, than performe what he with so great and good affection, had so Christianly requested, embrace each other; and who so forward to make faire expression of his good intention, as the Duke of *Glocester*, and to that end, he with low obeyfance first importunes the Queene, to blot out of her remembrance, any discourtesie or neglect he had offered unto her, protesting upon his faith to God, and honour to his house, to be for ever her observant, and affectionate servant: and then turning about to those that were present, he said; My Lords, I desire to be entertained in your good affections, and I here freely forgive whatsoever unkindnesse, discourtesie, or abuse I have received from any of you, and desire the like from you to me; and so courteously shaking them all by the hands, made shew of reconcilement, when all was counterfeit.

THE



THE  
LIFE AND REIGNE  
OF KING EDWARD  
THE FIFTH.

Ann.  
1483.



THE young Prince was at *Ludlow* when his Father dyed, being not long before sent thither, with his Presence to curb the exorbitant licentiousnesse of some of the unruly *Welch*, who taking advantage of the great distance that was betwixt their Countrey and the Courts of Justice, which were then settled at *Westminster*, would divers times, in assurance of impunitie, attempt many disorderly pranks.

For his better proceeding in mannaging of his place, the King had appointed *Anthony*, Earle *Rivers*, the Queens Brother, and so by the Mothers side Uncle to the Prince, to be his Director, and chiefe Councillor; with whom likewise were many of the Queenes Kindred and Allies, in chiefe esteeme and office, whereat the Duke of *Glocester* took exception: And well knowing, that if these were not by some means or other removed, and their present power abated, it was in vaine for him to set on foot his new hatched stratagemicall project, to dis-inherit the new King, and to take hold of the Crowne in his own right; he did therefore cast about, to procure their amotion, the one from his place, the other from their Offices and attendance. And to that purpose (presuming on their inclination that way) he consulted first with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and afterwards with the Lord *Hastings*, making use of their distaste, against the power of the Queenes Brother, the Kings halfe Brother, and his own inveterate malice against them all. To these in private conference he first insinuates the Queenes low descent, and her kindreds unworthy promotions; and afterwards openly assures them, that if these upstarts and mushrump Nobles, were but permitted to be about the Kings person in his youth, they would afterwards by that means so purchase his favour, that they would become so powerfull, when he should attaine to maturitie of yeares, that all the honours, possessions, and lines of the ancient Nobilitie of this Realme, would be in danger to be subject to their wills. And for prevention thereof, he did perswade them to joyre with him for their amotion, assuring them, that that effected, they might ratably proportion to themselves, and share all the dignities and places, and what benefit there might accrue thereby, amongst themselves and their friends.

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These insinuations of *Glocester*, joyned to their own ambitious and malevolent dispositions, so powerfully wrought upon their yeelding natures, that they not only condescended to this proposition, for the amovall of the *Queenes* kindred, but to whatsoever the Duke of *Glocester* should afterwards promote unto them.

But it is to be observed, that over and above the great wheele, which moved in their fancies, of envie to the eminency of the *Queenes* kindred; there were two other lesser rounds, which not a little furthered this rotunditie for association: The one, *Buckingham*s covetous desire to encrease his revenues, by the addition of the Earldome of *Hertford* for his part; the other, in the late Chamberlaine, to have so good meanes, whereby to save off such whom in King *Edwards* dayes he had justly offended, in transcending his authoritie in doing many actions, whereof he was reous of too too many, presuming now by this way to be supported, and though to the offence of many he had made his office the stawking-horse of his will, yet none should dare say black to his eye.

Whilst these things are projecting, the *Queene* appointeth Earle *Rivers* her Brother, and her Sonne *Richard* Lord *Gray*, and the rest of her Allyes and friends, to provide with a strong power of able souldiers, to guard the young King from *Ludlow* to *London*.

The Duke of *Glocester* being herewith acquainted, might well think, that if this plot were not effected before that time, his policy hardly afterwards would in that point prevaile. He therefore cunningly writes to the *Queene*, whom ever since her husbands death, he had with a great shew of respect, by visitation and intercourse of message, brought to a fooles belief, to take seeming for being, and shadows for realties; And by his Letters intimates to her, that it was rumored abroad, that her Brother and Son, against her will, and without the knowledge of the late Kings kindred, was providing with a mighty power of armed souldiers, to conduct his Majestie (in hostile manner) from *Wales* to *London*; which if it should be so done, would breed a great jealousy in the minds of the common people, who are apt enough to make an ill construction of the best action whereof they are ignorant: That there were ill members, whom the King had cause to suspect, and therefore enforcedly came thus armed.

And where as now there was no appearance or likelihood, but of true love and affection, betwixt his kindred and her Allyes, if any armed troopes should be now raised, and no cause knowne to what end, the so late unfeigned reconciliation, so happily by his late Brother procured, would be in question to be dissolved, yea, any the least mistake, mislike, or distaste, that might be taken, arise, or given, amongst the meanest of the common souldiers, might minister occasion to disquiet the peace of the Kingdome, and set him and her Brother and partakers on both sides, together by the eares, and the mischief that thereby should ensue, (as it is to be feared a great deale would) was like enough to fall on that part, to which shee wisht least hurt, and all the blame would redound to her and her kindred, which now shee might easily, so please her, prevent, if shee would but addresse her Letters to her Brother and Son, to assure them from his mouth, and upon his honour, that himselfe and all the late Kings kindred, were constantly resolved, inviolably to observe the amicable attonement, made by his Sovereigne and her Husband upon his death-bed, between her Allyes and friends, and the Kings kindred.

The

An.  
1483.

Ann.  
1483.

The too credulous Lady, gave plenary consent to what the Duke of *Gloucester* requested; and to that end dispatched messengers to her Brother and Sonne, who somewhat unwillingly, but upon her request were perswaded to forbear levying any more men, and casheered those they had provided, and attended only with their owne meniall servants, they set forwards towards the Queene with the young King; and with more haste than good speed, came to *Northampton*, and from thence the King went to *Stony-Stratford*, where the two Dukes, with a great traine well provided, and mounted, arrived. And pretending the Towne to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went to *Northampton*, and alighted at the same Inne, where the Earle *Rivers* had taken up his lodging that night, resolving to overtake the King the next morning.

Upon this their accidentall meeting, much Court complement, and exchange of faire language, and shew of courtesie passed, and not the least colour for distaste or dislike, taken or given on either side, neither by themselves or followers. But no looner was supper ended, but the Dukes pretending wearinesse through hard riding, retire to their lodgings, and the Earle goeth to his.

But the Dukes with their private friends, when the Earle went to bed, went to Councell what course to take, with the least suspicion and the most safetie, to make away the Earle and his kindred.

In this consultation they continue the most part of the night. And towards morning, they took the keyes of the Inne gates, and disperst their followers to keep the passages, with instruction not to permit horse-man or foot-man to passe the way towards *Stony-Stratford*, pretending that none should goe before, because the two Dukes might expresse their durifull respect to the King the better, by being first ready to give their attendance at his going to horse.

The Earle having notice by the Host of these proceedings, imagining his destruction was plotted, yet being debard of any meanes, either to make resistance, or escape, he set a good countenance upon the matter, and came boldly to the Duke of *Gloucester* his Chamber, where he found *Buckingham*, and the rest, with whom he expostulates the reason of this course taken, to imprison him and his in their Inne against their wills. But they in stead of shaping him an answer, made their will the law, and without more speaking, commanded the Earle to be laid hands on, objecting those crimes to him whereof themselves only were faulty; And having taken order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took horse and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking horse, whom in all faire and reverend manner they saluted. But a staffe was quickly found that a dog may be smitten, and an offence is taken before given; a quarrell is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half-brother, in his own presence. The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the King, that he and the Marquesse his Brother, with Earle *Rivers*, the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw unto themselves, the sole managing of the affaires of the Kingdome, and to sow dissension betwixt the Blood-royall of your Fathers side, and those scarce loyall on the Queenes side, who greedily seek after the others ruine. And the better to effect it, the Lord Marquesse without any warrant, but of his own head, out of the Tower of *London* (your principall Magazine) hath taken both the Treasure and Armour, to a great quantitie; But what his purpose was to doe therewith, though they were ignorant, yet there

was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient, by the advice of the Nobilitie, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-comming, to make answer for these, and other his overbold actions done against common honesty.

The King for want of experience, unable to sound the depth of these plots; mildly said to him, What my Brother Marquesse hath done I cannot say, but for my Uncle and Brother here I dare answer, they are innocent of any unlawfull practises, either against me or you.

Oh! quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hath been their cunning to abuse your Majesties gentlenesse, with keeping their treachery from your knowledge. And thereupon instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and conveyed them to *Northampton*, & from the Kings Person, to his no little amazement and disquiet; they removed all, or the most part of his ancient Officers & Servants, placing in their roomes, their own creatures, whom they had power to command.

The Duke of *Glocester* taking upon him the custody of the King, tooke order for the conveying of the Prisoners to severall Prisons in the North parts, and then set forwards with the King towards *London*, giving out by the way, that the Marquesse and the Queens kindred, had plotted the destruction of the King, and all the blood-royall, and all the ancient Nobilitie of the Realm, and to alter the government of the Common-wealth: And that they were only imprisoned, to be brought to their triall according to the law.

And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour (of their own providing) with Drie-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be treasure for the payment of souldiers; with which they so posselt the common people, that all was believed for Gospel that was thus rumoured: But of all other, the neatest device was, to have five of the Duke of *Glocesters* instruments, which were manacled and pinioned like Traitors, and these in every place where the King lodged by the way, were dispersed, with some keepers to be lodged in the chiefe Officers houses, and to be regarded as men of great birth, howsoever they were now prisoners, and they must seeme to be penitent for their offences, and confesse their own guilt, but laying the blame on the Queenes Brother, who had drawne them into this vile plot of Treason; but these did so artificially expresse themselves, that they could at their pleasures invite their Hosts to call them Traytors, and cry out, that the earth was not fit to beare such treacherous rebels: and that the Dukes were to blame, not to stay the King in that place, untill execution were done against such horrible malefactors, and their trayterous companions. This plot continued acting till the King came to *London*, and the disguise was taken from these impostors, and they were put to act another part.

The Queen with her second Sonne, and five Daughters, being at *London*, receiving by Post intelligence of these dolefull accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow, presently taketh Sanctuary at *Westminster*, with which place, good Lady, shee had formerly beene acquainted.

The young King much grieved at the newes, and more at the occasion, with teares and sighes expressed his discontent: But the Dukes as seeming ignorant of any of these things, comply themselves unto his service, and with all externall shew of reverence and respect, and with many glozing protestations of their fidelitie, and care of his safetie and content, fought to comfort him, but it would not be.

Ann:  
1483:



Ann.  
1483.

The Duke of *Glocester*, by the contrivement and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Decree of the Councell Table, is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdome; which place added such fuell to the ambitious fire of his heart, that it burnt cleane out all love, naturall respect, or duty, either to Countrey, kindred, or King: And now nothing sets his imagination on work, but to compasse the meanes how to bring his trayterous designs to effect; which was to make away the King and his Brother, which he is resolved, wickedly, yet wittily to attempt.

To contrive the getting into his custody the Duke of *York*, is the next Scene to be acted; for the more easie accomplishment whereof, hee takes advantage of the Kings melancholy, and acquainteth both him and his Councell, That the company of his Brother would much conduce to his thereby being made merry; saying withall, that the Queene Mother was more wedded to her peevish will, than was convenient, either for the Honour of the Kindome, or the Kings content. And therefore wisht some course might be taken, either by perswasion, or otherwise, to procure her to send the Duke of *York*, to beare the King his brother company.

The Councell, to whom *Glocester* seemed to speak nothing but Oracles, (so well had he moulded them) presently apprehend a necessity of a Companion to be found for the King, and none so fit as his own Brother. And to that end, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (one upon whose advice the Queene-Mother did much rely) is employed with instructions, to procure her to consent to part with her younger Son, to accompany the elder; which hee accordingly did, yeelding these reasons, the sooner to draw her to yeeld (as he said) to reason.

First, for that it was scandalous to the whole Realme, that a Child of so noble Parentage by birth, so tender of yeeres, so neer the King, and so innocent, should be enforced to be a Prisoner.

Secondly, that none could be permitted to enjoy the benefit of Sanctuary priviledge, but such whose consciences did accuse them of some offence, for which they feared to bee punished by the Law: But the Dukes infancy and innocency was such, that he needed no such protection.

Thirdly, that none ought to bee priviledged as a Sanctuary person, but whom discretion had enabled to require it; and for that reason hee was not capable of it.

And lastly, any person might be taken out of that place, if so it be for his own preferment and benefit, and not to his punishment or prejudice, and therefore if the Queene should refuse to deliver him, he must be taken from her, *Volens nolens*, and the rather, lest that through a froward jealousie, she should convey him beyond the Seas, as pretending he should be more safe in any place, than in the King his Brothers company.

To these the Queen makes answer, that none was more fit to have the tutelage of the child than the Mother, and the rather, in respect of his weak and tender disposition.

That each of those Brothers was the others safety, so long as they are kept asunder; that the life of the one was maintained in the body of the other: and if that one of them did well, the other was in no perill: and that it was dangerous to keep them both in one place. And as she was proceeding further, the Archbishop said, he was loath to put the power of his Primacy in execution, but her obstinacy would to his grief enforce him thereto. Whereupon the Queene perceiving that it was concluded, that reason must not dispute

dispute against the Councels resolution, she with such expression of passion, as tender-hearted Mothers use to part with a beloved child, when their Prophetick thoughts suggest unto them they take their last leave of the Babe; taketh the Duke by the hand, and delivereth him unto the Archbishop; saying, at his hands shee would require that sweet Boy; and unable to speak more, she opened the flood-gates of her eyes, and bedewing her cheeks with teares, turned her back.

Ann:  
1483.

The Archbishop having effected his errand, hasteth to the Lords, who in the Starre-chamber with the Protector, stay expecting their coming: to whom making relation with what unwillingness the Mother was perswaded to yeeld consent to part with her child, he presented the innocent Babe unto them; of whom the Protector had no sooner taken a glimpse, when with all ceremonious reverence he riseth and embraceth him in his armes, vowing with affectionate protestations, that nothing (next the welfare of his Sovéraigne, which he esteemed above all earthly things) brought him more content than his Nephew of *Yorks* wisht for presence: and then (*Judas-like*) kissing his cheek, he takes leave of the Board, and presently conducteth him to the King his Brother, who with joyfull heart and great affection entertained him, which was by so much the more to be esteemed, by how much it was unfained.

The Protector now having the game, he hunted in his owne toyles, under pretext of provident care, that they might securely repose themselves untill the distempers of the Common-wealth (whereof himselfe only was actor and auctor) might bee quieted: he causeth them within few dayes in great Pomp and State, to bee conveyed thorow *London*, to the Tower, there at pleasure to remaine untill the time of the Coronation, towards which there was great shew of preparation made.

The Protectors machinations could not well work by themselves, they must have assistance, hee wanted *Achitophel*: the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose authority and power did beare a great sway amongst the Courtiers, must cunningly bee drawn to his bent. To which purpose, he proposed to him, that whereas he had been formerly an earnest Petitioner to King *Edward* the fourth his brother-in-law, for the Earledome of *Hertford*, whereunto it did appeare the Duke to have a good Title, yet he could never attaine it; yet, now if hee would bee constant, and joyne hand in hand with him, hee would put him in a way, whereby to be assured to obtaine it. And so upon faithfull promise, to procure *Buckingham* to bee estated in that Earledome, and of a match to bee concluded betwixt their issue, and an equall partition of the treasure of the Crowne betwixt them two (for performance whereof the Protectors oathes are not wanting) *Buckingham* is not onely drawne to condescend, but is most forward to contrive, and plot stratagems, and the best courses to compasse the worst of ill effects, which was, by depriving their innocent Nephews (for *Glocester* was Uncle by the Fathers side, and *Buckingham* by the marriage of their Fathers Sister) of their right and lively-hood, and some others of their lives, to make the Protector a more facile passage to lay hold on the Crowne.

The Protector having purchased so true a partner of his ambitious designs, well knowing it was no good policy, to play the villaine by halfe-deale; is resolved, to suffer never a rubbe to lie in the way, that might hinder the true running of his boule: And having a farre-off founded the Lord *Hastings*, and finding him so constant to the King his old Masters Sonnes, that

nothing

Ann.  
1483.

nothing could withdraw him from doing them true service, he himselfe must bee removed out of the way, the effecting whereof, was none of the least straines of policie; for he must not yet be meddled with, untill by his nayle, the nayles of his Antagonists the Queens Brother, and Sonnes by Sir *John Gray* her former husband, bee driven out: the compassing whereof, was meerely *Hastings* his share. But no sooner was the engine up by his device, that should make them headlesse, but by *Buckingham*s device, *Hastings* himselfe is brought to his block.

All the Lords of the Privie Councill are in the Protector's name, generally convoked to the Tower; where, at the Councill Table, sitting preparations for the speedy Coronation of the young King are proposed, and other like businesse, wherewith to amuse the Lords, and entertaine time, untill the Protector came in; who excusing himselfe for having over-slept himselfe that morning, taking his Chaire, very affably saluted them, merrily jesting with some, and more than ordinarily pleasant with them all: But on a sudden, he framed an excuse for his present absence; leaving them in the meane-time somewhat to conferre upon untill his return, which he promised should be very speedily, he so went out of the Chamber.

Within the space of an houre he returned, but the wind was turned, his affable countenance, and familiar language, are changed into distracted looks, and much shew of inward perturbation, which with sighing and other passionate gestures, he expressed to the uttermost.

After a long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates: what they deserved, that had nefariously practised his destruction, being of the blood royall, Uncle to the King, and Protector of his person?

This unexpected interrogation, in that strange manner urged, strook such an amazement amongst the Lords, that they all stood gazing one on another, as if the Protector's speeches had had the vertue of *Medusa*'s head. At length, the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckingham*s instigation, and presuming of his (as he thought) more than ordinary intimacie with the Protector, and the innocencie of his owne conscience, boldly answered, That they deserved to undergoe the punishment of Traitours, whatsoever they were, which the rest by their silence approved: with that the Protector riseth up from his seat, and with a stern look upon *Hastings*, replied; why, it is the old Sorceresse my brothers Widow, and her Partner that common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life: And had I nor by Gods great mercy happily come to the discovery of their practises, and found out the plot, they had effected their villanie before suspected. Yet have I not altogether escaped free from their malice; for behold (and then he bared his left arme to the elbow and showed it) how mischievously they have caused this deer lim of mine to wither & grow uselesse, and thus should all my body have been served, if they might have had their will, and a little longer space.

Those to whom the Queenes religious courses, and Christian condition were not unknowne, and were not altogether ignorant; to what hard shifts the Protector was driven, that could provide no other colour for his accusation, but the showing of his late discoloured arme, the defect whereof, all knew that knew him, had been as it was ever since his birth; and the coupling of his Queene sister, and his Brothers Concubine, in one and the same plot of conspiracie against him, betweene whom there was such an antipathy of disposition, was the occasion that the Lords at his first speech, so now sat gazing one



Ann:  
1483.

one upon the other, untill the Lord *Hastings* (though not well pleased, that he was not as well made privie to this intended stratagem, as with that daies conclusion, to have the Queens Brother, Sonne, and Allies, to be executed at *Pomfort*) willing, out of malignitie to her, to help forward the accusation against the Queen, but with some pretext to extenuate the aspersion cast upon his Paramore, Mistrisse *Shore*, (whom ever since the death of the King, he had entertained for his bedfellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a sober look, submissly said, If the Queen have conspired (which word was no sooner out of the Chamberlaines mouth, when the Protector in great show of cholor, clapping his fist upon the board, frowning, looking upon him, said, tellest thou me of *if* and *and*? I tell thee, they, and none but they, have done it, and thou thy selfe art not only acquainted with, but partaker of the villany, and that I will make good upon thy body.

And therewith upon a watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer chamber, cryed, treason, treason; wherewith a great number of men in armes came rushing in (as it were) to guard the Protector, one of which with a Pollax strook a maine blow at the Lord *Strange*; and wounded him on the head, and had slain him out-right, had he not, to avoid the stroke, slipt backward, and falne down upon the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* of high Treason, and wisht him to make haste to bee confessed, for he sware by Saint *Paul* (his usuall oath) that hee would not touch bread or drink untill he had his head from his shoulders. *Hastings* calling to mind his last nights dreames, his solicitations that morning, by his sweet Mistrisse, from either trusting the Boare, or that day to be at the Councell board; the speeches that had past betwixt the Lord *Stanley* and him in riding together, and the ominous predictions of ill speed, by the often stumbling of his horse, and such old peoples observations; hee was easily perswaded to give credit, to what the Protector had sworne; yet, being about to say somewhat, hee was presently hurried away, and left hee should have been too long at shrift, or therein might discover what hee knew, which though it were not much, yet it was more than the Protector would have willingly knowne, lest the world might be acquainted with his villanie; he was upon the next Timber-log they were at (though laid there for a better use) beheaded on the green neer the Chappell of the Tower. So absolute was the Protectors progresse in policy, that he incited *Hastings* on to plot the death of Earle *Rivers*, the Lord *Gray*, and the rest of the Queens kindred, at *Pomfret* on the same day whereon *Buckingham*, by the like traine, had plotted to make him headlesse. And that there might seeme some ground for what was done, the Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley*, and divers others, were presently clapt Prisoners, in sundry holds of the Tower. And for a further colourable glosse of this so plaine a text, divers Citizens of *London*, prepared before, to give credit to whatsoever rumour should be set abroad, are sent for withall speed to come with what forces and power they could draw together, to the Tower, to the Protector, who is pretended (and so it was generally bruited abroad as soone as ever the Lords were entred within the Tower gates) to bee in great jeopardy, occasioned by a plot of treason contrived against him by the late Lord Chamberlaine, and others his complices: And to countenance the rumour somewhat the more (at the approach of such friends whom the Protector had sent for, and who, to purchase his custome, or procure his countenance, would goe beyond the losse of a limme) hee, together

Ann.  
1483.

ther with the Duke of *Buckingham*, covered in rustie and unfashionable armor, present themselves to their view; pretending that haste, and the apprehensie of the perill, would not permit them to stay for provision of better. And then with a counterfeite shew of great perturbation, the Protector told them, how the Lord *Hastings*, by the contrivance and instigation of his late Brothers Wife, and Concubine, *Iane Shore*, had well-nigh entrapped my good Cousin (pointing to *Buckingham*) and my selfe, for suddenly they resolved to have destroyed us, as we sate at Counsell Table this morning; and notwithstanding the happy discovery thereof, yet the uncertainty of the number, or qualitie of the Confederates, enforced us, to prevent the mischeife, and preserve the King (who what the Traytours intended against him was uncertaine) in safetie, to runne an unusuall, but no unlawfull course against the said Lord *Hastings*; considering the necessitie of the time, and their so eminent danger, and without orderly Tryall, which as now was needlesse, in regard hee was taken in the manner, and presumed to have beene rescued, if execution had beene deferred, instantly to have him beheaded. Then the Protector heartily thanked the Londoners great love and paines, whereby they did expresse their readinesse, to bring him succour so opportunely, desiring them to acquaint their neighbours with what had passed, and so dismissed them: but with them sent an Harrauld at armes with a Proclamation, which, for the length, and faire writing in a set hand in Parchment, to all of judgement did appeare to be prepared long before the intimated offences against the Lord *Hastings*, therein so fully expressed, were either knowne or suspected. This Proclamation in the Kings name was publickly made (the Maior and the Sheriffs present in all places usuall) wherewith, howsoever the vulgar seemed satisfied, which seldome understand the truth of State matters, and are carried away more with opinion than judgement; yet those of more understanding did not forbear publickly to say, that the Proclamation was dictated by divination, and ingrossed by forcery.

Presently upon this, *Iane Shores* lodgings are searched narrowly, and ransacked throughly, and to the value of three thousand Markes, in Jewells, Plate, Money, and household-stuffe, and all that ever shee had, seized to the Kings use, and put under safe custody: she her selfe is committed to straight Prison. The crime laid to her charge was witchcraft, pretended to be wrought against the Protectors person, which when neither by subordination, suggestion, testimone, colour or inference, could be made good against her; yet, that somewhat might be done, that might be a meanes to make her obnoxious to the tongues of the multitude, the stain of incontinence is laid to her charge, and for that onely, by the Bishop of *Londons* Officiall, she is adjudged to open penance; which shee under-went with that deportment and well-becoming countenance, that strooke malice blind, and drew pitie from all the beholders, so that they that hated her course of former life, and were well pleased to see vice so corrected, tooke commiseration of her punishment, when they had considered, that it was procured by the Protector, more upon old malice than new matter, rather to work his private revenge, than her reformation: But this thus done, was left to be the subject of the peoples discourse, as but the bye. The maine was of more consequence, which must carefully be expedited during these transactions; all the Nobilitie that were at libertie, were suspicious one of another, and few or none could imagine any just grounds

Ann.  
1483.

grounds for suspect, being altogether ignorant of what the Protector aimed at. In the meane time, he with glozing termes sprinkled Court holy-water amongst all, and secret promises of perferment to those whose power and will to withstand him he doubted, when he should discover his yet clouded project; by this meanes hee kept them altogether at the Court, not giving way to any one to depart into the Countrey.

Now he begins to fit the ladder which ere long he will reare up, and in the interim worketh with Sir *Edmond Shaw* Maior of *London*; and his brother *John Shaw*, and Fryar *Pincket* Provinciall of the *Augustine* Fryars neere *Algate*, both Doctors of Divinitie, and greater than good, Churchmen of greater learning than honesty, and yet of more repute than learning, being such that more regarded, by the ignorant to bee accounted learned, than by the learned to bee judged ignorant. These three were thus severally to bee employed; *Edmond Shaw* must make some meanes to draw a partie amongst the Aldermen, and most substantiall Citizens, to give credit, at least countenance, to what by these two Doctors should bee delivered in the Pulpit; and underhand by one and one to set forth the incapability of the Children of King *Edward* to sway the Scepter, upon the grounds following.

The Preachers in their severall places, the one at *Pauls Crosse*, the other at *Saint Maries Spittle*, to exhort the hearts of the people to refuse the last Kings Sonne, and accept of the new Protector to bee their King. For the better advancement thereunto, the Protector was not ashamed to appoint, at least to give way, that bastardy should bee alledged either in King *Edward*, or his children, or both: Thereby to disable King *Edward* by right to inherit the Crowne, as Heire to the Duke of *York* his putative Father, and so by like inference the Prince to him.

To obtrude Bastardy to King *Edward*, must draw his Mothers fame in question, she being Mother to them both, and yet living. But rather than hee would be destitute of pretext to fit his purpose, he was not discontented to proclaime his Mother a strumpet, and his owne Father a Cornute. But that point was by *Buckingham* thought, and so advised to be but sparingly urged: and as it were, but by the bye, but to give a touch, that neither King *Edward*, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, were the lawfully begot children of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*: But mainly to insist, and againe and againe to prease, That the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* was pre-contracted to King *Edward*, and was by the law of God and man his lawfull wife; and from those premisses to draw this conclusion, That the Prince and all the children King *Edward* had by his Queen, the late Lady *Gray*, were all naturall children, and illegitimate.

A divellish plot, the prosecution whereof was must unfit for a Divine to have his finger in, much more to thrust in his whole arme; yet Doctor *Shaw*, by the instigation of the Divell, and his owne ambitious designes, not only forbare to dissuade the Protector from further prosecution of this so foule and unheard of a projection, to make the Pulpit worse than a *Pasquill*, and the sole channell to convey abroad the polluted streame of falshood and lies; but (with *Iudas*) was well pleased with the employment: and since the one against nature, would traduce his owne Mothers honesty; the other against the tenet of Religion would deliver *Apocryphall* doctrine for Canonickall Scripture, to his Auditory; and for the sooner effecting thereof, like a downe-right instrument for the Divell, upon the first Sunday in June Anno Dom. 1483. at *Pauls Crosse*, he being appointed to preach



Ann.  
1483.

preach there, made choice of his Text out of the fourth chapter of the book of Wisdome.

*Bastard plants shall take no deepe root.*

In handling whereof, he enveighed much against children begotten in adultery, which he affirmed all such to be, as were begotten after marriage, when either party was before affianced to another; and laboured mainly to approve by argument and example, the truth of his doctrine. And with as much illustration, as Arts could use, or nature help forward, extold the many heroick vertues of *Richard* late Duke of *York*; the sole legitimate son of whom, and lively pattern of whose disposition, he pronounced the Duke of *Glocester*, now Protector, to be the true and lively Image: yet, though the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and an extraordinary traine, came to the Sermon place, whilst his commendations were by the Preacher set out beyond the allowance of truth, whereof he had made ample declaration before, and now again, after the two Dukes were seated, did inculcate the same passage of the Protectors prayse-worthy graces, and many merits; yet neither the declaration or repetition could prevaile so farre, as to win belife in the Auditory, of what was urged or delivered: which though it no way discouraged the Protector, yet it so dejected the Doctor, that the Sermon ended, he, as ashamed of his lesson, disconsolately departed, and never after that was publickly seene; but left the second part to be acted by Fryar *Pincket* upon *Easter* Monday following; and the Duke of *Buckingham* in the meane time to take their cues & to proceed in the Pageant. And accordingly within two dayes after, *Buckingham*, having procured the Maior *Sir Edmond Shaw*, to assemble the Recorder, Aldermen, Shiriffes, and many of the substantiallest Citizens in every Ward, at the *Guild-Hall* in *London*, as it were, to give approbation of what the Doctor at *Pauls* Crosse had the Sunday before (so unlike himselfe) forgetfully suggested, to the same purpose, and upon the said theame, made a rethoricall (though not religious) exhortation, concluding with this portion of Scripture, *Woe to that Realme that hath a child to their King*: But the people, contrary to his expectation, and the Maiors prepared voyces, (as was promised) were all silent; whereupon the Duke enquired in private of the Maior, the reason of this their dull silence; And was answered, that the Assembly did not well heare nor understand what he had said; whereupon, the Duke straining his voice, began againe, and both with gesture of body, and formally composed countenance, repeated to the same purpose other words, whereby he gained the commendations, that no man could deliver so much bad matter, in so good words, & quaint phrases.

But whether out of tenderesse of conscience, or straining courtesie, who should first begin, or, which is likely, the heavenly providence had so decreed it, not the least show amongst the Assembly of giving allowance of what was spoken, by word of mouth or other gesture, was discovered: whereupon the Maior said to *Buckingham*, That hee was partly perswaded that the Commons, not used to receive any such charge or proposition, but from the mouth of their Recorder, attended when he would speake, wherefore *John Fitz-william*, he then Recorder, was presently commanded to desire the votes of the Commons to the matter, thus twice by the Duke of *Buckingham* proposed. But he, being as well furnished with gifts of the mind as of the body, a man both learned and honest, with a grave and sober countenance, made a reiteration of the Dukes duplicate Oration, adding no more but this; Thus his grace said, and God give you grace to consider of it carefully.

Ann.  
1483.

carefully. But the Assembly collecting by the Recorders countenance, and manner of delivery, that he did not well relish the exposition himselfe; still continued silent. Then the Duke againe whispered in the Maiors eares, that they stood obstinately mute; and addressing himselfe again to the Assembly, hee said, Good friends we are come unto you to make a motion, not upon any necessity that you must give your either assent or consent to the point in question: For what we have proposed, will yee, nill yee, might and may bee done, but the only inducement thereof, was our respectfull love and loving respect towards you: for as much as we would have nothing done of this nature, but that we would first acquaint you with it. And sithence, you are to share with us in the blessing of such a businesse, which though you see not or regard not, as it seemes, yet is it most conducible to your peace and the generall quiet.

We therefore once againe, require but your answer, yea, or no, whether you be resolved, as all the Nobles now at Court are; to accept of the noble Protector Duke *Richard* the onely legitimate Son, of that ever to be honourably remembred by you and us, *Richara* Duke of *York*, for your Sovereaigne or not.

Whereupon those that stood next unto the Bar, made an indistinct murmuring, whilst at their back, the scum or dregs of the City, drawne thither by the Dukes followers, with themselves cast up their Caps, and with an obstreperous vociferation cryed, a *Richard*, a *Richard*. And whilst the more sober minded and sufficient Citizens that were before, turned back their heads to observe the condition & quality of those that made the acclamation, themselves nor consenting nor speaking to the point in question, the Duke of *Buckingham*, said, It was a well becoming expression of their affection, to have all with one consent, to embrace the undubitate heire; the Royall Protector Duke *Richard*, for their Sovereaign Lord and King. And that he would thoroughly acquaint him with their willing forwardnesse to approve him. And then entreating the Maior and his Brethren, to be ready the next morning at *Baynards* Castle, where the Duke Protector then resided, to joine with him to petition the elected *Richard*, to accept of this their so freely proffered subjection, he orderly took his leave and departed: and so for that time the company was dissolved.

In the morning at the place appointed, the Maior with all such, whose presence he could perswade or procure in their Citizens formall habit, and the Duke of *Buckingham* with all his favourites and friends, and all the Court Butter-flies of that age re-assemble.

*Buckingham*, together with information of what is past, sendeth notice before unto the Protector (sufficiently instructed cleanly to dissemble his notice of any the prepassages;) That the Maior of *London*, with all the most of the nobilitie of *England*, were ready (so please his grace) to vouchsafe them the hearing, to present a supplication unto him concerning a busines of great consequence: To whom the Protector returnes answer; That howsoever hee durst not give way to the least suspicion of what his Cousin of *Buckingham* should promote, yet he heartily desired him, to be pleased by that Gentleman he sent, to return some slight intimation of their intended request, before his comming unto them should be expected; for that the times were dangerous, and the unexpected approach of such a confluence of noble and worthy persons, might give occasion of some doubt to his friends, though not to him selfe of the motive of such an Assembly; wherefore *Buckingham*, though privately

Ann.  
1483.

vately, otherwise perswaded; publickly, made a plausibly demonstration of the Protector's integritie, from affecting any such Title, and thereupon returned this reply.

That the message they were to deliver, must be to himselfe in person. And therefore in the name of all the rest, he humbly besought his Grace, to vouchsafe them the liberty of admission into his presence. For otherwise, they must return much discontented, to have lost their labours, and the opportunity, to have imparted unto him a businesse of that importance, wherein himselfe partly, and the republick in generall, had an interest.

At length, as if not well assured of their well-meaning towards him, the Protector appears unto them, in an upper Gallary, making semblance, as though he would prevent danger by standing in his fort. To whom *Buckingham*, in behalfe of the Maior and the Nobility, and others there Assembled, makes his humble request, in most respective and reverent manner, that his Grace should pardon what he should declare unto him, and not to be offended with what they with all hearty and unfained affection desired should by his Highnesse be approved of, and embraced.

Many false fires are flast out, before the Duke of *Buckingham* would be brought to discover to the Protector in plaine termes, their cause of coming; but, though long first, at last he said.

The languishing estate of the Common-wealth, did require speedy helpe, which could no way be procured, except he, to whom the government thereof did only rightfully appertain, would undertake, at the respective solicitation, and humbly entreaty, both of the Nobility and Gentry, there present, to accept of the sole managing, as King, of the affaires of the Kingdome, and accept of their voluntary tender of their due allegiance; whereat the Protector starting back, as if he had seene, or heard, somerhing most displeasing unto him, passionately said, I little thought good Cousin, that you of all men, would have made to me a motion, to embrace that which of all things in the world I have thought most agreeable to honesty to decline; far be it from my imagination, to affect, or accept, that which, without apparent wrong to my dear deceased brothers sweet children, and my own upright conscience, I cannot well approve of: and then being about to proceed further in his premeditated tract of dissimulation, the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said, your Grace was pleased to give a free pardon, of what I should in the name of all this so worthy an Assembly relate unto you, in assurance whereof I have adventured to expresse the hearty respect we beare unto you, as is demonstrated by this (I now fear over-forward) tender of durifull obedience unto you; but herewith, I must adde further, that it is unanimously resolved on; That the children of your late brother *Edward* the fourth, as being generally known and proved to be illegitimate, shall never be admitted the possession of the Crown of *England*. And therefore, if neither respect of your own well deserving advancement, or regard of the good of the Common-wealth, will move you to accord to this our no unreasonable request (we having gone now so farre that with safety we cannot retract) we are resolute to confer the dignity upon some other of the line of *Lancaster*, that shall be more sensible of his own glory, and our good: be not therefore so much your own enemy, and our adversary; but at our so humble entreaty accept of this so presently proffered preferment. But if (as we shall bee most unhappy and disconlate to heare it) your Grace will refuse us, we must then seek, and hope not to faile to find one that shall, and not unworthily,



Ann.  
1483.

worthily (with halfe these entreatives) undertake to undergoe the danger or hazzard, which you may be pleased sinisterly to suppose is in the acceptance. These words, in the apprehension of the auditory, from *Buckingham*, were so emphaticall and patheticall, that they wrought so feelingly upon his passions, that the Protector could not but be contented to expariate his desire; yet with some change of countenance, and not without seeming reluctance, he did say, Since it is manifestly demonstrated unto men, that the whole Realme is so resolved, That they will by no meanes admit my (to me in my particular conceit most deerly respected) Nephewes, my intirely beloved, new deceased brothers children, and your late Kings sonnes, being now infants, to reign over you, whom no earthly creature without your good approbation can well govern; and since the right of inheritance of the Crown justly appertaineth to me, as to the truly legitimate and indubitate heire of *Richard Plantagenet Duke of York*, my illustrious father, to which Title your free and faire election is conjoynd (which we chiefly embrace as effectually and operative) we are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the royall government of this Kingdome; And will to the uttermost of our poore abilities, endeavour the good and orderly managing thereof. And therewithall, descended from the upper Gallery, where all the while before he had stayed, and came downe, and formally saluted them all; where-with the giddy headed multitude made the streets eccho, with their loud acclamation of, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord. And so the Duke of *Buckingham* tooke his solemn leave, and every man departed to make a descant at home of the plaine song abroad, as every ones severall fancies did minister occasion.

All this time, the two innocent infants are entertained with sports and pastimes, but unacquainted with any thing that had passed as afore to their prejudice.

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# THE LIFE AND REIGNE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

Ann.  
1483.  
R.I.



THE next day, the late Protector, with a great traine, rode to *westminster Hall*, and seating himselfe in the Kings Bench, where the Judges of that Court in the Terme time usually sit; he said, that it was the principall duty of a good King, carefully to look to the due administration of the municipall Lawes of the Kingdome; in which part he would not be defective. And then proceeding with a well compact Oration in commendations of peace, and discovery of the discommodities of dissention; He caused a generall Proclamation to be made, for abolition, and pardon of all injury, wrongs, and enmity past. And to give it the better colour, He caused one *Fogge* (which had formerly given him occasion of just exception, for abusing him with a tale of truth) to bee sent for out of Sanctury at *westminster*, whither to prevent the Protectors anger, hee was fled, and set presently at liberty, and caused him in publick to kisse his hand.

In his returne from *westminster*, his affable complement in the streets was so free and frequent, that by the discreeter sort, it seemed to favour more like fawning servility, than courtly courtesie, rather base than welbehaved.

After his returne home, by the faire help of a foule, but close covered plot, he had won an unconstant woman, and procured the consent (I dare not think good will or affection) of the Lady *Anne*, the youngest daughter of great *Warwick*, the reliet of Prince *Edward*, to be his wife; howsoever, shee could not be ignorant, that her sutor had been the instrument, if not the author, of the tragicall murders of both her husband and father. But the reason of most womens actions, are as indiscoverable, as Reason in most of them is undiscernable.

To prevent, had-I-wist, and to secure his Coronation, five thousand men are sent for out of the *Northern* parts. The guilt of a biting conscience, like an Attorney Generall, ever informing against the soul, alwayes suggesting unto him feares, and causes of suspicion, where no need was. These souldiers, ill clad and worse armed, being come, and all things prepared for the Coronation (at least

left wife those put in use or action that were intended for the investiture of Edward the fifth in the Regality) the but late Protector, now King Richard, upon the fourth day of July, together with his new Bride, came from Baynards Castle to the Tower by water, where he created Thomas Lord Howard Duke of Norfolk, his son Sir Thomas Howard Earle of Surry, William Lord Barkley, Earle of Nottingham.

Francis Lord Lovel Viscount Lovel, and Chamberlaine to the King; and the Lord Stanley (who had beene committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard that his sonne was reported to have levied forces in Lancashire) was not onely that day released out of prison, but made Lord Steward of the Kings Household.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was likewise then delivered, but the Bishop of Ely was committed to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, who took order to have him sent to his Castle of Brecknock in Wales. The same night were made seventene Knights of the Bath.

Edmond the Duke of Suffolks sonne.

George Gray, the Earle of Kents sonne.

William, son to the Lord Zouch.

Henry Aburgavenny.

Christopher Willoughby.

Henry Babington.

Thomas Arandel.

Thomas Bulloigne.

Gervois of Clifton.

William Say.

Edmond Bedingfield.

William Enderby.

Thomas Lewkenor.

Thomas of Yrmon.

John Browne, and

William Berckley.

Upon the fifth day of July, the King in great state rode thorow the City of London from the Tower to Westminster, and on the morrow following the King and Queen came from the Pallace to the great Hall, and from thence bare-footed upon cloath of Ray, they went to S. Peters Abby at Westminster, every one of the Nobles and Officers of state attending according to their severall ranks & places. The Cardinall sang Masse, and after Pax, the King and Queen descended from before Saint Edwards shrine to the high Altar, before which they were both howeled, having but one host divided betwixt them. Then returned they both and offered at the shrine, where the King left the Crown of S. E. and took his owne Crown; and then in order as they came they returned. All ceremonies of solemnity finished, the King gave licence to al the Nobility, & others that were thereof desirous, to depart to their severall habitations (except the Lord Stanley) respectively giving unto them strict commandement at their departure from him, To be carefull to maintain the truth of Religion, to preserve the peace & quiet of the kingdome, and to prevent extortion & wrong, that otherwise through their negligence might happen unto his subjects, setting them a lesson himselfe never meant to learne, at least wise practise: For like scilla, he commanded others under great penalties, to be vertuous and modest, when he himselfe walked the clean

An.  
1483.  
R.I.



An. 84.  
R. 1.

contrary way. The Northern men well rewarded, are returned home, and the King left at leasure to discover his masked hypocrisie, and at liberty to invent and put in practise stratagems of death and murther. And as afterwards he ended his time with the best which was his; so began he his reign with the worst, which was the death of his two innocent Nephews.

The King and Queen take their progresse into *Glocester*, to visit, in his new honour, the place of which he bare the name of his old. By the way he plotteth the manner of the destruction of the two innocent lambs left behind in the slaughter-house. For the execution whereof he sent one of his execrable instruments, named *John Greene*, with a letter, and instructions to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower (a creature of no small credit with him) presently upon the sight thereof to take order for the dispatching out of the way, those two (as he termed them) bastard brats: but the Lieutenant in this (howsoever vehemently suspected as guilty of other like employments) being honest, both detested the businesse, and denied to performe the command; with which answer *Green* returned to *Warwick*, where the King then was, to whom he related the Lieutenants answer; wherewith the King was doubly perplexed with the discovery of his intention, and the refusall by him on whose readinesse he much presumed before. And much discontented he withdrew to his chamber, where after some vent to his passion, he made enquiry of some of the Pages, if any could think of a man, that to gaine his Soveraignes favour, would hazard the losse of a finger, or somewhat more; whereupon one of the Pages presently gave information of a Knight, who to give wing to his ambitious desires, which were ever desirous of the Kings employment, would not be scrupulously conscienced, nor would stand much upon the hazard of his lims to doe his Majesty service, adding withall, that he was now in bed in the next chamber; upon this man the King presently pitcht, and hastily rising from the Close-stoole, (for this communication was at the time of evacuation, a faire closet and a fit season for such counsell) he went forth into the Pallace chamber, where he found two brothers, Sir *Thomas* & Sir *James Teril* in bed together, men of different conditions, but equall comelinesse of feature and countenance, wherein few in those times did exceed them. Sir *James* before by the Page fully described to be the undertaker, is singled out and privately conferred withall by the King: and to him he briefly importeth his mind, and the meanes to purchase his perpetuall respect and favour. The Knight as greedy of the employment as the King to have it effected, out-went the Kings expectation in forwardnesse, undertakes the performance of whatsoever shall be appointed; whereupon the next morning he is dispatched with letters mandatory to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, for present surrender up of his command the keyes of the Tower for a time, to the bearer, Sir *James Tirrell*, which was accordingly done.

Sir *James* before-hand had furnished himselfe with actors for such a filthy Tragedy, whose names were *Miles Forrest* and *John Dighton*, a couple of Rake-shames, that had beene thorowly flesht in all villany, and had so often offended the Law by shedding of bloud, that the custome thereof had taken away the sense of the sin, so that to cut the throat of a Prince or a pig, was without difference to them. These, the second night after his having of the keyes of the Tower, Sir *James* employes to smother the two poore innocents in their bed, which they did, by wrapping hard their

their pillowes about their heads, and stopping their breath with their bed-clothes; which done, they tooke and buried them under the staires, amongst a heap of stones; from whence they were after removed in more obscurity, but to a place of Christian buriall, by Sir *Robert Brakenburie's* Chaplain, whose sudden death, which hapned some few dayes after, hindered the discovery of the place, and thereby gave cause of doubt to some, and colour to others, by the credulous folly of a few, but the inveterate malice of more, afterwards to justifie *Perkin warbeck's* and other impostury.

The Tragedy being come to the Catastrophe, away poasts Sir *James*, (having first taken order for the shipping of his agents for the Low-Countries) to the King, from whom at first he received gracious countenance, good words, and great promises, But was never afterwards preferred or imployed by the King (as perceiving in his looks some reluctancie for what he had so lately done) but scorned and detested by all that knew the employment, abandoned by his owne brother, and despicable in his owne thoughts: And such is usually the reward of those that pawne their soules to purchase uncertain preferment; for as good Physitians affect not poyson, though skilfully sometimes they make use of it; no more doe any the traitor, that take advantage of the treason.

The King doth now perceive that he is able enough to subsist of himselfe, and without *Buckingham's* aid or advise, powerfull enough to plot and actuate any requirable project: And therefore having now freed himselfe from any competitors for the Garland, by the murder of his two Nephewes, he began by little and little to weane himselfe from *Buckingham*, and withdrawes his former privacie of conference with him: And first delayes, and then denies to perform the pact & agreement so solemnly before concluded betwixt them, yet publikely washes his face in every company, with all shewes of Court holy water; which the Duke wisely observing (one formerly sufficiently acquainted with his disposition) thinking it far better to be the enjoyer but of a small loose, than to have no bread, playes with the King at his owne weapon: At *Glocester* taketh occasion, with outward shew of all formal respect and former integrity, to take his leave of the King, and so departed the Court. But they had no sooner severed themselves, but ease began to observe the others behaviour, and by meanes of interlopers, they were knowne to misconster and misinterpret each others words and actions, so that the knot of familiarity formerly united in treachery, was now easily dissolved by jelousie, which was the sooner brought about by this occasion: After the Dukes arrivall at his Castle of *Breaknock*, he sent for his prisoner *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, whom he familiarly entertained, and from time to time continued such his kind and respective entertainment toward him, which the wise Bishop observing, and withall noting the Dukes haughty heart, and ambitious haughtiness, he thought it good discretion from thence to take his hint, to make his wisdom the means of his owne deliverance, though with the Dukes destruction: for the Bishop besides his profound learning, having often, and by alternate prooffe of prosperity and adversity, gotten experience (the mother and Mistresse of wisdom) and thereby could discern the passages of politick and cunning contrivements, perceiving the Duke so overforward to cope with his conversation, that he would

A  
1484  
R.1.

4

An.  
1484.  
R. I.

omit no place or time convenient, but he would expresse himselfe in a most affectionate manner to be most desirous to enjoy it; the Bishop at times of conference would so order his communication, that he seemed rather to follow, than lead the Duke into any discourse, which either concerned the commendation of *Henry* the sixth, or *Edward* the fourth; and would therein so temper his speech, that he would not deliver further or more, than what he was assured the Duke could not well contradict; but ever modestly, without either arrogating or derogating to the honour of the one or other; But if at any time any passage in their talke intervened, that might any way reflect upon the now King, he would make sudden stops, saying, he had beene formerly too forgetfull that way, and had waded too far in relation of occurrences in the world, more than did become his coat, but now he was resolved to leave those courses, and wholly to apply himselfe to his books and beads, and meditate on the next world. Nevertheless, the Duke after many protestations of secrecy, importuned the Bishop but to expresse his opinion of the condition of King *Richard*, and the validity of his Title to the Crowne of *England*, telling him withall, that he was resolved to entreat (and presumed he should obtaine it) his faithfull and secret counsell in a businesse that neerly concerned him, as one upon whose religious honesty, and every way sufficiency, he would altogether rely: Adding further, that to that end he had procured leave from the then Protector, to have the Bishop committed to his courtesie, whereby he might with the more conveniency and safety confer with him thereabouts; and the Bishop might be assured of more safety and respect than in another place. The Bishop gave him many thanks for this his undeserved favour, desiring the continuance of them, but withall told him, that Princes were like fire, howsoever at a distance they gave warmth, yet kist they would burne the lips: And therefore saith he, I love not to talke of them, as being a thing not altogether out of danger. For though the words in themselves deserve no reprehension, yet are they ever subject to other mens misconstruction, or misinterpretation; and seldome, if at any time passe according to the intention and meaning of the speaker, but as they are taken. But this added more oyle to the flame of the Dukes desire, to be resolved of the Bishops verdict, of the before-past proceedings, and his judgement of occurrences to follow: and the more cautious the Bishop was in his relations, the more eager and earnest was the Duke to be thoroughly informed of both; and at length he prevailed with his importunity so farre, that one evening after supper sitting privately together, the Duke having engaged his honour, as swearing by his *George*, and his soule, by calling his Maker to witnesse, that whatsoever at that time the Bishop should deliver unto him, should for ever be buried in silence, and never goe further.

The Bishop stood off no longer, but demonstrated at large, that the late Protectors proceedings were discommendable, his ambition unsufferable, his bloody designes intollerable, his usurped government tyrannicall, and the honour and quiet of the kingdome in apparent jeopardy: And then with great earnestnesse of speech and gesture, he further said; Royall sir, I adjure you by the faith you owe to God, by the honourable respect you beare to your Progeny, by your oath made to *Saint George*, the Patron of that Honourable order of the Garter, whereof



whereof you are a deserving companion, by the true affection you carry to your native Countrey, and your due love to vertue and integrity, be not averse, but bravely second that faire and honest course that I shall propose unto your grace: For thereby tyrannous usurpation may be suppressed, justice advanced, and future peace everlastingly established, which God of his infinite bounty will vouchsafe to accomplish, if you will, with what convenient speed you may, procure or provide a fit and undisparageable match, for the eldest daughter of King Edward our late King. And if with possibility it may be obtained, let him be such a person as may reunite the long since severed bearings of the red Rose and the white; then will all intestine broyles be pacified, and every one shall freely enjoy the happy benefit of this now so much desired blessed concord.

This speech was not so soone ended, but the Duke elevating his eyes to heaven, put off his Cap, and said, To thee, O heavenly Father, sole giver of every good and perfect gift, from the altar of my humblest heart I render all possible praise and thanks, for that thou hast given ability through thy gracious spirit to this thy servant, to invent a faire meanes whereby thy glory may be propagated, innocencie preserved, and inhumanity punished, the good and quiet of thy people procured, and every true patriot have just cause to enjoyce in thee: And then putting on his Cap againe, he said to the Bishop, At what time my brother in law (for I presume it is not unknown to you, that King Edward and I did marrie two sisters) left this life, I began to revolve with my selfe, how little respect or favour (after such my marriage) I had received at his hands, notwithstanding any so neere affinity, besides propension of love, to doe him all acceptable service, and his little humanity shewne to me, made me as little reckon of him, and lesse of his children: Then the old Proverb comming into my minde, that that Realme often rueth, where children raigne, and women beare sway; I could not but be perswaded, that much mischief and perturbation would betide the whole kingdome, if either the young King were suffered to sway the Scepter, or the Queen mother to have the government, and the rather, for that her brothers and children by a former husband, although not extract of very ancient Nobility, assumed more unto themselves in managing of the state affaires, then either the deceased Kings brethren, or any other Peere of the Realme; whereupon to prevent a further mischief, I thought it very requisite, both for the advancement of the publike good, and my owne particular interest to insinuate and partake with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I then reputed as free from simulation or dissimulation, and as tractable without doing injury, and just, without shewing cruelty, as now to my shame I may speake it, and to my grieve I have proved him to be a perjured dissembler, and a pittilesse tyrant; and thereupon I sided with Gloucester, and by my sole labour and industry (without the least suspicion, I protest, of what after hapned) hee was at the first Councell held, after the death of King Edward, procured (as partly you my Lord Bishop know) to be made Protector both of King and Kingdome, whereunto he had no sooner attained, but by like policy he got into his custody his two innocent Nephewes, the King and the Duke of Yorke.

Then hee begins to sollicite me, and sometimes by entreaties he endeavoureth

An.

1484.

R.2.

An.  
1484.  
R.2.

devoureth to perswade, and then againe with minatory words to enforce me, and the Lords present, (by constraint as it were) to permit him to take upon him the execution of the Regall State and Government of this Kingdome, untill the young King were ripe, and able to undergoe the burden thereof, and beare the load upon his owne shoulders; at leastwise untill he should attain to the age of foure and twenty years; which project of his, in regard the example was without president; and that would be as strange, if not more, to have an ambitious minde to dismante himselfe of a place of that eminent power of command once obtained, as for him at that instant to effect it; I seemed not well to relish it, and the rather, for that I found by the countenance of all there present, he was as then upprovided for seconds at the Table to backe his proposition. He thereupon not altogether unfurnisht of his baits to fish with, to give some colourable pretext of reason for what he had moved; hee produced many seeming authenticke instruments and resolutions, upon depositions of credible witnessses, subscribed by the Civilians and Canonists, the most famous in these times for judgement and learning, by whom it was resolved, and so adjudged, that the children of *Edward* the fourth were to be reputed illegitimate, and no way capable of the inheritance of the Crowne; which overture then (unfainedly I speake it) I thought as reall and true, as now I know the Deponents names were counterfeited, and the whole businesse forged.

These depositions and resolutions thus by him produced, were read, and throughly by us, at the Councell-table debated, and long discussed upon, untill the Protector himselfe stood up and said, My Lords, as on the one part I and your Lordships are most willing that King *Edwards* children should receive no injury; so on the other side, I beseech you, doe not you be the occasion that I suffer apparent wrong. For this point being thus cleared, that my brothers sons are not inheritable, behold me the unquestionable and undoubted heire of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *Torke*, my deceased, but deare father, who was by authority of the Parliament adjudged, and so proclaimed lawfull heire of the Crowne of *England*; whereupon we silly seduced men, thinking all had beene Gospell that had been delivered, gave consent, that in regard the Duke of *Clarence* his son, by reason of the former attainder of the father, besides the obruded illegitimation of him too, was likewise disabled to carry the inheritance, to accept of the Bramble for our King and Sovereigne Lord; the which I was rather induced to doe, by how much he had often with solemne protestations, both publike and private, given me his faithfull promise, that the two young infants should no way be abused, but that they should have sufficient assurance for maintenance, such as I and the rest of the Nobility should well like and approve of; which how well he hath performed, judge you, when he was no sooner, by my procurement, from a private person made Protector, and from a subject, sole Sovereigne, but he cast the ladder by, by which he had climbed to this preferment, changing his manners with his honours; and not onely denied me to enjoy the liberty of my undoubted right, as touching the Earledome of *Hertford*, unjustly detained from me by his Predecessor King *Edward* (and which at our first conference about these proceedings, this *Richard* with many execrable oaths promised had assured me) but kept touch in nothing with me of what was formerly concluded betwixt us: But in lieu thereof I

was

was entertained with flouts & uncourteous language giving out as though I had never furthered, but rather hindred his most weighty designes; yet this foule ingratitude, and his undeserved unkindnesse, I patiently for a season under-went. But when I had received certaine notice of the unnaturall murder of his two naturall nephewes, I was so transported with scorn and indignation, that I had very much to do to temper my passion from publike revenge of their death and my owne disgrace, in his owne Court, untill weighing the doubtfulnesse of the event, I deemed it the safest way, with patience to wait a fitter opportunity, and in the meane time to take out a copy of his dissimulation, and that I might with the more safety work upon his owne seame, I framed my carriage and countenance at all times towards him in that manner, as though I knew no pipe to dance after but his, never crossing him in any point, nor seeming to dislike or distate (though much against my nature) any thing he moved or did. And by this means I obtained liberty to retire my selfe to this place. But in my journey homewards, by the way, I had many strong conflicts in my minde, which way to begin to work, that I might make this Usurper to acknowledge his error, and to pull off the lions skin from his hog-like back.

First, I thought with my selfe that there was a faire path beaten for me (he being now by the murder of his tender Nephewes grown despicable to God & all good men) to lay hold of the Garland, in regard there was not one whom I could then call to remembrance, either of power or pre- tence sufficient to debar me from enjoying it, being no way unprovided of meanes, men or mony for employment: And in this conceit I continued a while, untill that afterwards it came into my minde, that to come in by way of conquest would prove both hard and hazardfull, in regard that most of the Nobility & Gentlemen would oppose me therin, if for no other end or reason, but only for the preservation of their tenures and titles, which in a Conquerors hands are liable to his disposall. And then and there that embrions conceit of conquering continued so formlesse.

Then my fancy suggested to me, that the Lord *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, my grand-father, was within two degrees lineally descended from *John* of *Gaunt*, for *Edmond* *Beauford*, Earle *Moriton* was son of *John*, surnamed *Beauford* of *Beauford* in *France*, which came to the house of *Lancaster*, by *Blanch* of *Arthoyes*, wife to *Edmond* first Earle of *Lancaster*, son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*. That my mother being his eldest daughter, I was next heir to *Henry* the sixth: And hereupon I set up my rest, thereon to lay a foundation whereupon to erect my building: But as God would have it, whilst my brains were busie, and as I rode debating with my selfe, how to the best advantage I might set my engines going, betwixt *Worcester* and *Bridgenorsh*, I accidentally encountred *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, the true and onely heire of my Grandfathers elder brother, *John* Duke of *Somerset*, who married *Margaret*, daughter and heire of Sir *John* *Beauchamp* of *Blesso*, knight, by whom he had issue one onely daughter, *Margaret*, who married *Edmond* of *Haddam* son of *Owen* *Tudor* by Queen *Katherine*, and halfe brother by the mother to King *Henry* the sixth: but she was as absolutely forgotten by me, as if I had never seene or known her. Now she, and here sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, being both cut- worke and Percullis betwixt me and that port, which I must of necessity passe, if I should at any time attempt to enter into the Court royall of

An.  
1484.  
R.2.



An.  
1484.  
R.2.

of Majesty, my presupposed Title was in my imagination now scarce worth a rittle. And herewithall calling to minde, that those unseparable dangers, unsupportable cares and unsupportable troubles that necessarily await upon a Crown are so imminent and numerous, that no one, if he be but man, can with safety escape, well undergoe, or with patience endure the least of many of them, except by lineall descent the law doe cast it upon him, or he be by Gods especiall providence, as *David* was, preordained, or before appointed thereunto. And further, taking it into consideration, that if I once assumed unto my selfe the swaying of the Scepter, howsoever I might perchance be of ability sufficient to lay hold of it, yet on the one part I should be sure to find many foes, but few faithful friends, (who in this age are all for the most part gone on pilgrimage, and their return is uncertain.) And on the other side, King *Edwards* daughters, and their allies, whose patience so infinitely abused, might incite some furious partakers, or my cousin *Richmond*, with his friends and followers, or some discontented Lords (for it would be an impossible thing to give plenary content to all) would be ever snatching or snarling at me upon every the least occasion, and upon any advantage, so that in all likelihood my life & livelihood should be ever hanging but by a very slender thread, so that I should never be secure, but ever in danger of death or deposition; wherfore from thenceforth I concluded with my selfe, to banish out of my thoughts all ayrie-built Castles, to look after the government of the Kingdome, either in my own right, or to my owne use, and concluded watchfully to attend, if at any time it should please God to make me his instrument, to relieve the wronged, and to scourge the oppressour; And now I am verily perswaded, that it is the good pleasure of the Almighty, to make this the meanes by which both may be to his glory effected; for the Earle of *Richmond* to take to wife *Elizabeth*, the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth (to bring which orderly to effect) neither my person, power or purse shall be wanting, in respect that by this match, The two houses of *Tork & Lancaster*, at this time so miserably disjoyned, may be brought to unity and conjunction. And whereas my grandfather and father did both lose their lives in abetting the tide of *Lancaster*; I will now hazard mine, to conjoyne them both hand in hand.

Humphrey  
D. k. of  
Buckin-  
ham slain  
at St. Albons. 1455  
Humph. IV.,  
slain at  
Northampton. 1460.

These words the Duke uttered with that vehement earnestnesse, that the good Bishop, and not without reason, was thorowly perswaded, that it was as much the love of *Richmond*, as the hatred to *Richard*, that made him make this forward and friendly offer; and from thenceforth afterward he so condired his discourses with such powerfull & significant words, and prevalent reasons, that he kept him firme & constant to his first proposition, inso much that at length by this Bishops advise, and procurement of *Reig-old Bray* (a Gentleman attending upon the Countesse of *Richmond*) this whole plot is discovered to the Dutchesse, and very well approved of by her; and presently from her, Doctor *Lewis* her Physitian, is imployed to Queen *Elizabeth*, who still remained in Sanctuary at *westminster*, to sound how she stood inclinable; who upon the first proposition, before shee would expresse any thing to the Doctor, she prostrated her selfe upon her knees, and humbly invoked the blessed Trinity to be propitious to this so much desired unity; and then raising her selfe up, she did professe her selfe (next unto God) to be much bound to him or her that first invented the means whereby to restore her poore children to their

right,

right, and redeem her selfe from that thraldome and feare wherein now they were, and with great thanks returned the Doctor, wishing him to assure the contriver thereof whosoever, that if Earle *Richmond* would take his corporall oath, to espouse either her daughter *Elizabeth* or *Cicely*, in case it should please God *Elizabeth* should die before that time, as soon as he had obtained the enjoyment of the Crown; That she would not only give hers, and get her daughters consent to the match, but procure all the friends and Allies of her deceased husband King *Edward*, and her own, to take his part, and in all things to give him their best assistance.

An.  
1484.  
R.2.

The mothers thus having expressed their intentions, to keep the game on foot, Doctor *Lewis* preferred to the Queene a religious and learned Priest, called *Christopher Vrswick*, who upon oath taken for secrecy, was, as occasion should be offered, to be employed in these businesses, so that now *Bray* and *Vrswick*, do travell onely about home, whilst the Physitian, who might do it with most safety and lesse suspition, negotiated in more remote places; first to found, then to incire as many of the Nobility and Gentry as they should discover to be willing to give their assistance, but alwayes with this caution, to offer to treat with none, without making oath first for truth and secrecy.

In few dayes *Bray* had drawn into confederacy, Sir *Giles Darnbeney*, Sir *John Cheney*, *Richard Guildford*, and *Thomas Rame*, with some others.

*Vrswick* likewise for his share had prevailed with *Hugh Conoway*, *Thomas Culpepper*, *Thomas Rooper*, with some others; and in the meane time Doctor *Lewis* was not idle, but had won *Edward Courtney*, and his brother *Peter*, Bishop of *Excester*; among whom it was carefully agreed upon, that convenient messengers should be speedily dispatched for *Britany*, to Earle *Richmond*, to acquaint him with the whole proceedings: For this purpose, by the contrivement of *Vrswick*, *Hugh Conoway* is employed from *Plimmouth*, with great sums of money.

*Thomas Rame*, by the advice of *Bray*, is with like instructions sent out of *Kent* by *Callice*, both which, within the space of little more than an houre, though divers wayes, the one most part by Sea, the other most part by land, came to the presence of the Earle, who graciously received them, and gladly embraced both the concord and condition.

The Earle acquaints the Duke of *Britany* both with the plot and the confederation, earnestly imploring his advice and aid, which the Duke as readily promised, as really performed; howsoever *Harrison* Ambassador from King *Richard*, had endeavoured to preoccupate the scene, and in his Masters name, had both by private letters, and many proffers of much money, and more courtesies, laboured the Duke for the Earles restraint, but to little or no purpose.

The Earle thus encouraged, returns *Conoway* and *Rame* by the same way they came, to give notice of his speedy repaire, with ample instructions for the manner of preparation against his approach to be made; whereupon the Confederates in all places provide such as had Castles or Piles of strength, furnish them with men and amunition; and others use their best meanes, that money and men may be got in readinesse against the Earles arrivall.

Bishop *Morton*, who had gained opportunity, against the Duke of *Buckingham* will to convey himselfe into the *Dow-Courte*, is not slacke, by letters, and private messages, to conjure all such as he knew either to

hate

An.  
1484.  
R. 3.

hate or envie King *Richard*, or to have loved King *Edward*, to lay to their helping hands, with all their might in this conjuration.

Now, whether amongst so many, through some false brothers treachery, or out of his watchfull jealousy over *Buckingham*, it is uncertain. But King *Richard* hath intelligence of the designe, and politickly dissembleth it, but secretly giveth order, as it were but to take a muster, to draw his forces together, amongst whom he suddenly comes, and having appointed his cariages to follow him, he marcheth away, without acquainting any of the Commanders with any particular place whither he led these forces. In the mean time, first by proffer of friendship, by faire tearmes, the King did sollicite the Dukes presence at *London*, where the K. kept his standing house; but receiving from him but dilatory put offs, the King the sent a peremptory message, by the tie of his allegiance to come away, which was returned with this resolute answer, That he would not (if he could avoid it) have any conversation with an ungratefull perjured inhumane butcher of his owne flesh and blood; so that now preparation to offend and defend by the sword, is made on both parts.

The King holds on his march, whereupon all the conjurators in every quarter, are in overt commotion. *Thomas Marquesse Dorset* (preserved from slaughter by the only favour of *Sir Thomas Lovel*, against the Kings will) forsaketh Sanctuary, and in *Yorkshire* laboureth to raise forces.

The two *Courneys* in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, take the same course, and they are seconded in *Kent* by *Guilford* and *Rams*, so that civill combustion is in every quarter of the Realme. King *Richard* notwithstanding severs not his forces, but keeps on his march towards *Buckingham*, who having notice thereof, both readily and willingly setteth forward, bending his course thorow the Forrest of *Deane*, intending at *Glocester* to have passed *Severn*, and so to have joyned forces with the two *Courneyes*, and the Western Confederates; but by the long continuance of wet weather, the waters thereabouts were risen so high, that *Severn* was broken out, and had overflowne all the Countries, so that it was a thing impossible for the Dukes forces to be transported, which the Welshmen (drawne thither more for feare than love) took advantage of, saying it was a prodigious token of their ill successe in the enterprize, and secretly by night slipt away from him, whose example the residue followed, so that the Duke upon this disbanding, was left to shift by himselfe; whereupon he dismissed all his followers, and without Page or Footman, repaired to the house of one *Humphry Bannister*, who dwelt neare *Shrewsbury*, presuming there he might safely lodge in obscurity, untill better fortune should smile; the rather for that the many extraordinary favours formerly done to the said *Bannister*, and his father before him, might justly challenge willing entertainment, during his secret stay there, if not more.

The newes of this disaster added wings to the other conjurators to disperse their powers and flee some to sanctuary, others to unknown places, all of them making the best shift they could to escape: but they sped best which conveyed themselves into *Britanny*, amongst whom the Marquesse *Dorset*, *John Lord Wels*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his brother: *Sir John Bourcher*, *Sir Edward Woodvile*, brother to *Queene Elizabeth*, *Sir Robert Willoughby*, *Sir Giles Daubeney*, *Sir Thomas Arundel*, *Sir John Cheyne*, and his two brethren; *Sir William Barkley*, *Sir William Brandon*, and his brother *Thomas*; *Sir Richard Egmond*, *Hollome* and *Poyntings*, Captains, were chiefe.

King



King *Richard* having intelligence that the enemy was fled, sent order presently to lay the Ports, with strict charge, that none should goe on board, or come on shore, without especiall warrant.

He likewise made publike Proclamation, that if any one could bring tidings of the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was now proclaimed Traitour, and all his lands and goods seized into the Kings hands) so that the Duke might be apprehended; if the person were a bondman, he should be manumitted; if a freeman, he should have a generall pardon, and a thousand pound currant English coine.

Whilst these things are thus in agitation, King *Richard* hath information from *Hutton* his Lieger Embassador in *Britaine*, That the Duke thereof, not only refused to keep the Earle of *Richmond* in restraint of liberty; But was seeming forward, to give him his assistance to prosecute his intendment, which was to work some exploit in *England*. Wherefore the King tooke especiall order for the present rigging and preparing his Navie, to stop, if possible, the Earles landing in any Port of *England*.

In the interim, whether feare to offend the law, or greedy covetousnesse to gain the thousand pounds, it is yet disputable, but *Bannister* like an ungratefull servant perfidiously discovered his Master, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to *John Mitton*, then high Sheriffe of *Shropshire*, who thereupon apprehended him in a little Grove neere *Bannisters* dwelling-house, and conveyed him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* lay, from whence upon All-Soules day, he was conveyed to *Salisbury*, and then and there without arraignment or legall proceedings, in the Market-place beheaded.

Whether *Bannister* received his proclaimed reward, is uncertain; but that Gods judgements appeared afterwards against him, and his very remarkable, for he was afterwards hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest daughter is debauched by one of his Carters, and his son and heire in a desperate lunacy became his owne butcher, and was so found by the Coroners inquest.

This *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham* was Earle of *Stafford*, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknocke*, *Kimbolton*, and *Tunbridge*, and high Constable of *England*.

He married *Katherine*, daughter of *Richard Woodvile*, Earle *Rivers*, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters.

1 *Edward*, who by *Henry* the seventh was restored to blood, and succeeded in his fathers honours.

2 *Henry*, whom the said King Created Earle of *Wills*.

3 And *Humphrey* that died young.

1 *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Radcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-waters*.

2 *Anna*, married first to Sir *Valer Herbert*, and afterwards *George* Lord *Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*.

Upon the twelfth day of October, the Earle of *Richmond* with forty ships, and five thousand waged Britons, took the Seas; but that evening by the rage of an impetuous tempest, the whole Navie was disperfed; the ship wherein the Earle was, with one only little bark, after they had endured the rage of the tempest eight and forty houres, was driven upon the coast of *Cornwall*, where he giveth expresse commandment, that none should dare to take land, untill the Fleet were drawne together.

But after he had huld up and down the shore by the space of a day and a night, and never a Vessell appearing, observing an hourelly increase of armed

An.  
1484.  
R.2.

An. 14.  
84. R.  
2. armed souldiers upon the coasts by *Poole*, being assured they were none of his partakers, because no tokens before agreed upon at his approach to bee used, were presented: The wind blowing a fresh gale, the Earle hoisteth saile, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence he dispatcheth messengers to the French King, *Charles* the eight, by whom he readily received a safe conduct, together with a liberall quantity of French Crowns to beare his charges on the way, wherupon the Earle sent his shipping about, whilst he by eatie journies came by land into *Britain*, where he received the newes of the Duke of *Buckingham*s death, and the dispersing of the Confederats forces, which somewhat troubled him at first; but afterwards he was much comforted, at the sight of the Marquesse *Dorset*, and those brave Commanders that were come with him; and presently they enter into consultation what course was to be taken in their beginning and progresse of the intended action, amongst whom it was then generally concluded;

That King *Richard* as a tyrant and a Traitor should be proscribed,

That *Richmond* should take upon him the Regall Dignity, then by *Richard* usurped.

That *Richmond* should publicly make a solemne protestation to take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of *Edward* the fourth.

That all the Nobles, Gentlemen, & others of the English Nation there present, should do homage, and swear allegiance to the Earle of *Richmond*, as to their Sovereigne Lord; and each to other interchangeably give assurance upon the seale of their salvation, alone, and together with others, to prosecute *Richard*, and to protect *Richmond*, to the expence of the last drop of blood in their bodies, and the profusion of al their substances.

This thus concluded on, upon Christmasse day before the high Altar, in the great Church of *Reimes*, the Earle of *Richmond* gave oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, immediately after he was quietly seated in the government of *England*; And thereupon all the Lords and knights there present (the Bishop of *Exeter* shewing them the way) did doe him homage; and in the same place, each to other religiously did vow, taking the Sacrament thereupon, never to surcease prosecuting warre against *Richard* the Usurper, untill his deposition or destruction.

Relation hereof being made to the Duke of *Britain*, he voluntarily made offer to furnish the Earl with al things necessary to the enterprise, and all things are accordingly providing in those parts, whilst King *Richard* makes a diligent enquiry after all those that might be suspected to be favourers or furtherers of *Richmond*s association; many of them are apprehended, amongst whom Sir *George Broune*, and Sir *Roger Clifford*, with foure Gentlemen more, are executed at *London*.

Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married *Anne*, the Duke of *Exceter*s widow, the Kings owne sister, and *Thomas Rame*, Esquire, were executed at *Exceter*. And at an Assises held at *Torrington*, for the County of *Devon*, *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, and all such as were with the Earle of *Richmond*, were indicted of high treason, and at the Parliament which presently followed, all those so indicted, were attainted, and all their lands and goods seized upon.

*Thomas Lord Stanley* is enforced to purge himselfe by oath, and to swear that he was then altogether innocent of any treacherous practise against the King, and unacquainted with any his Wives courses, touching the succouring

succouring her Son : yet nevertheless, he is commanded to keep her close, and not to suffer any to have libertie, to write to, or confer with her.

An.  
1484.  
R. 2.

A truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, to continue for three yeares ; And for the better settling of amitie and concord betwixt the two Kingdomes, a Marriage is treated of, betwixt the Duke of *Rothsay*, the King of *Scots* eldest Sonne, and the Lady *Anne de la Poole*, King *Richards* Sisters Daughter, formerly married to *Iohn de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*.

*Iohn Earle of Lincolne*, the said *Annes* Brother, King *Richards* Nephew, is likewise (the Daughters of *Edward* the fourth being excluded) proclaimed heire of the Crowne of *England*.

Suspition seldome but slumbers, never sleepes ; and a guiltie conscience is evermoe broad waking. The jealousy of *Richmonds* Title, and the horror of King *Richards* conscience, for the murder of his two innocent Nephewes, so justly affright him, that his sleepes are evermore interrupted with fearefull dreames ; insomuch, that he did often leap out of his bed in the dark, and catching his sword (which alwayes naked stuck by his bed-side) he would goe distractedly about the Chamber, every where seeking to find out the cause of his own occasioned disquiet ; And in the daytime he alwayes would hold his hand upon his Ponyard, as though he would nor be behind-hand, to require the stroke of a sword with a stab ; his braines were still working, and his cogitations hammering out strange stratagems for Massacres.

There must be no stone left unremoved, whereupon *Richmond* might have footing : Embassadours are sent to the Duke of *Britaine* with instructions, upon any termes to procure or purchase his Person to be delivered unto them : But the Duke by extremitie of sicknesse was falne into that weaknesse, that the Embassadours could have no audience. Whereupon they addressed themselves to *Peter Landoyes*, chiefe Treasurer to the Duke, and his great Favourite. They having found out the length of his foot, by the experience of other mens successe, that negotiated with him ; they so anointed him with oyle of Angels, and large promises of the King of *Englands* ready willingnesse to make more ample satisfaction, for any courtesie therein by him to be done, that he resolutely undertaketh that the Kings pleasure shall be in that point procured. What moved this Treasurer, that at *St. Mallomes* not long before, had countermined King *Richards* Engineers, and preserved the Earle from the danger of the plot ; that now he should undertake, to ingulph him in that quagmire, from whence so lately he had freed him, cannor easily be conjectured, except that the eminency of his place (farre transcending his descent or desert) had brought him into the generall hatred of those, whom either by his inward power with the Duke, he had any wayes injured, (a course too common amongst those of like condition and qualitie) or otherwise, had not given that fulnesse of content, that was expected ; And thrust him into the contempt of his betters by birth, that scorned to have such a bubble to take place before them, or into the envie of all such that would, but could not obtaine like favour and preferment, or into the hatred of the Commons, who seldome or never think, or speak well of Officers in like place, that purchase their Masters favours by filling his coffers, and emptying their purses ; or that he could not devise a better meanes, how to arme himselve strongly against the machinations and excursions of such incertaine enemies, but by the friendship



Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

ship and protection of so potent a Monarch, as the King of England was, the validitie of whose gold, and the power of whose arme, might purchase or procure his freedome or safetie, if at any time thereafter impeached.

Whilst the Treasurer is plotting and placing his Engines, to make delivery of the merchandize, as afore bought and sold, God who alwayes provideth for the deliverance out of danger for those that trust in him, had so appointed, that *Christopher Vrswick* is sent out of *Flanders*, from *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, (who by Gods especiall care and providence, was ever mindfull, and carefully watchfull of the Earle of *Richmonds* prosperous proceeding) to forewarne the Earle of the neere and certaine perill he was in, and to acquaint him both with the plot, and the meanes to prevent it. The Earle quickly resenteth it, and presently dispatcheth *Vrswick* to the *French King*, to crave the continuance of his gracious favour, and againe to grant him safe passage thorow his Dominions. *Vrswick* was no sooner gone on his way, but the Earle (making no more, than needs must, acquainted with his intention) having procured a guide, by unfrequented wayes, to conduct him into *France*, gave private directions to the Earle of *Pembrook*, to make an overture, to draw his forces towards the Duke of *Britaine* (who by this time had been somewhat recovered of his maladie, and was retired to take the ayre, neere the borders of *France*) that he (as though so by him desired) might make view of them. But as soone as ever they came neere any the confines of *France*, he should with all convenient speed, make entrance thereinto, and attend further directions. The Earle of *Pembrook* punctually followed his directions, and safely arrived in the Dutchy of *Anjou*, where they made their rendezvous. *Richmond* with onely five in his company, himselve disguised like an ordinary Serving-man, through Woods and by-wayes, came to *Angeirs*, whither some of his retinue were gotten before, and attended his comming. From thence he writeth to the Duke of *Britaine*, excusing his so sudden and unmannerly departure, occasioned through his certaine danger, (if not thus avoyded) by the plot aforesaid.

Some few dayes after his departure, the Treasurer with a selected company of souldiers, under the conduct of *John Vitry* (*Landoys* his onely creature and counsellour, who gave forth by the way, that these men were waged for the ayd of the Earle of *Richmond*; and to that purpose had *Vitry* formerly written to the Earle) came to *Vans*, where hearing of the Earles sudden departure, he sent out his Vauntcurriers into every quarter, to apprehend and stay him; but they lost their labours.

*Sir Edward Woodvile*, and Captaine *Poynings*, with their Companies, being left behind in *Vans*, had been in great hazzard to have been distressed, but their discreet behaviour, both then and before, had gotten a good opinion amongst the Townsmen, that they quietly permitted their stay amongst them, untill they had informed the Duke by the meanes of the Chancellour, who was their friend and *Landoys*'s Antagonist, of their estate, who much displeased with the harsh usage of the Earle, by *Landoys*, out of a noble and commendable disposition, furnished them not onely with money to discharge their debts in the Towne, but also with carriages, and all necessaries for their orderly accommodation in their march to the Earle of *Richmond*: whither with a safe conduct he sent them, where they safely arrived.

The Earle returnes thanks to the Duke, and with an authentickall Instrument,

ment, whereby the Earle, and all the Gentlemen present, had subscribed to the repayment of the money lent, and satisfaction of all things else, by those Companies received, sends him a more ample and perfect remonstrance of the Treasurers treachery, which afterwards gave just occasion to the Duke of Britaines kindred (who were by Decree of the King, and all the Peeres of France, in regard of the Dukes infirmities, to manage the affaires of the Dutchy) to question Landoyes for that, and other over-bold actions of his, to his after-overthrow; For he and his Favourite *John Vstry*, (upon the just complaint of the Chancellour, and the unappeasable fury of the enraged multitude) had their processe legally made against them, and were accordingly hanged.

The Earle of *Richmond* admitted to the presence of the French King, acquaints him with his intention, and laying claime to the Crowne of *England*, and his meanes of prosecution thereof, and requesteth his amitie and assistance. Both which King *Charles* faithfully promised, and as effectually performed, to his great honour.

In the interim, *Richmond* and his retinue, are honourably entertained, and bountifully feasted in the French Court, and many proffers of matches to the young English Bachelers there made, but none succeeded.

Whilst the Earle is thus attending in the French Court, *John Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, who had long been Prisoner in the Castle of *Hams*, had so prevalently perswaded with *Tames Blunt*, Captaine of the Fortresse, and *Sir John Fortescue*, Porter of the Towne of *Callice*, that they not onely gave him leave to take his own libertie, but accompanied him to the Earle of *Richmond*; of whom they are joyfully welcommed; and to him Captain *Blunt* gives assurance, that the Fortresse did remaine onely at his devotion.

To the Earle at this time there resorted divers young Gentlemen, that were students in the Univerfitie of *Paris*, proffering him their service; amongst whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time very famous for good Clerkship, and faire carriage, to whom the Earle then gave entertainment, and then advised with him in all his affaires, but afterwards upon prooffe of his good abilities, he made him one of his most privy Councell.

King *Richard* being informed, that his Chapmen could not compasse his so much desired Merchandize in Britaine, and that *Richmond* was safe, and fairely entertained in the French Kings Court, he resolved not to leave any thing undone, how vile and nefarious soever, that might further him to defeat his Adversary. And being perswaded, that he could by any meanes anticipate the Earle from matching with his Neece *Elizabeth*; and being so sleight in villany, that custome in him had taken away all sense of sinning; this downright instrument of the Devill, resolveth to rid his hands of *Anne* his Queene, and as it were to win the prize from all precedent Tyrants, in being guiltlesse of no impietie; he attempteth the marriage of his Neece, his Queene being yet living. But shee, good Lady, shall be quickly made sure enough from hindring his despicable designe, in joyning incest to murder. And thus resolved, cloking his wolvis condition under the vail of innocent well-meaning, this Monster of men, backt by the Devill, and his dissembling lookes, endeavourth to perswade the Queene of *England*, his Brothers Widow, that he most entirely affected her pleasure, and her childrens preferment; and to obtaine her good opinion, would not onely pardon the Earle of *Dorset*, but promote him, and all their kindred, to honour and prime offices of the Kingdome.

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

So far he prevailed with this meere pittifull Queene, that shee had quite forgotten the murder of her innocent infants, the butchering of her owne Brother, Sonne, and kinsfolkes, the calumny of her royall husband, the aspersion of adultery obruded to her selfe, the imputation of bastardy laid to her Daughters; and her firme faith plighted to the contrary to the Dutchesse of *Richmond*, and the assurance thereby of her elder daughters preferment, upon King *Richards* glozing speeches, was contented first to commit her daughters to the custody of him that was author and actor of all these calumniationes and cruelties; and afterwards by Letters mandatory, to sollicite her Son the Marquesse of *Dorset*, to desert the Earle of *Richmond*, and to encline to King *Richard*, who shee assured him, had not only granted him his free and generall pardon, but had provided honourably to preferre him upon his returne.

This done, King *Richard* with great solemnitie, and formall shew of extraordinary affections (the surest ginnes to catch women and rattlebraines) entertaineth the abused Mother, and seduced Daughters; And presently takes order to make one Saint the more in heaven, by sending his Wife thither before her time; but how or by what meanes, it is not made manifest.

Shee is with all solemnity, which the shortnesse of time to prepare would permit, interred at Saint *Peters* Church in *westminster*, where some few forced teares for a shew, are wrung from his eyes at the Funerall, whilst his thoughts are plotting, how to compasse incestuous copulation with his own Brothers Daughter, whom he immoderately visiteth, and entertaines with all varieties of pompous pleasures, as it were by such musick, to prepare her affection the sooner to admit of his love, suite: But her harmlesse innocency, not diving into his villanous purposes, takes all things from him as honourable courtesies.

Now only feare to lose that little good opinion which the common people had cast away upon him, induced thereunto by his late formall shew of repentance, and protestation of his heartie detestation of his former bloody course of life, did withhold this monster of mankind, as yet to discover his beastly desire, which was, to purchase his pleasure by rape, if not otherwise procurable. But for that it behoved him to labour to prevent the growing storme, threatned from beyond the Seas, and to hinder the further growth of his enemies forces at home, against his will he prorogues the execution of his desires, and leaves love-matters untill another season.

The Lord *Stanley* is commanded to levie all his forces for the Kings ayd, as he will justifie his integritie to him; neverthelesse, cannot be permitted to goe downe into his Countrey, untill he had left *George* Lord *Strange*, his first begotten sonne, as a sure pledge of his love and loyaltie, behind him.

The surrender of the Castle of *Hammes* to the Earle of *Richmond* by Captain *Blount*, is come to the eares of King *Richard*, who presently giveth order to the Garrison of *Callice*, and the Forts adjoyning, to reduce the same, which they accordingly attempted; But the Captain at his departure (having left his Wife therein) had sufficiently furnished it, to withstand any assault, untill reliefe might with conveniency be sent unto it.

The Earle of *Richmond* having notice of the siege, sendeth the Earle of *Oxford*, with some forces, to remove it, or relieve the besieged.

*Thomas Brandon*, a servant of the Earle of *Oxford*, with thirtie resolute souldiers, find the meanes to enter into the Castle, carrying with them such ammunition as was then most wanting, whilst the Earle of *Oxford* with his other forces are marching thither; upon notice whereof, the *Callicians* offered the



the besieged, that if they would surrender the Castle, all that were within it, should have faire and noble quarter, with free liberty to depart with bagge and baggage, which was accordingly readily embraced, being the only end of the Earle of *Oxfords* journey, which was to redeeme his friends, in especiall the Gentlewomen in the Castle, out of danger. And then leaving the Castle cleane bare, without either men, amunition or ordnance, they retreated in safety to the Earle of *Richmond*.

The ships which King *Richard* had appointed to guard the Seas, to debarre the Earles passage, (hee having beene informed, though untruly, that *Richmond* was haplesse and hopelesse of help from the French King) are called home, and all the Souldiers discharged, only order given for the diligent watching the Beacons.

*Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, to give the better colour to the report of *Richmonds* backwardnesse to doe any thing suddenly, and not induced thereto by his Mothers solicitation, maketh a show to forsake *Richmond*, and conveyeth himselfe toward *Flaunders*, but by the way is overtaken by *Humphrey Cheney*, who was appointed to follow him, and was not only perswaded to returne, but to remaine hostage with Sir *John Bourchier* for security of performing the Articles concluded on, betwixt the Earle of *Richmond*, and divers his friends in *France*, and for the repayment of fundry sums of money by *Richmond*, for this expedition, borrowed.

But report being come into *Britaine*, that the Usurper laboured the speedy making up of a match betwixt him and the Lady *Elizabeth*, and had likewise prepared and proposed an husband for her Sister *Cicely*; there was too little time left to bee employed for longer consultation what more to doe, or further expectation of ayd how to doe; For experience did manifest it, that the longer they stayed, every day the lesse ready they were, for either victuall or other provision grew sower or stinking, and every houre would grow worse and worse: And that all the passages and Ports were so stopped and guarded, that it was a thing almost impossible to send or receive any further intelligence out of *England*, which was the more demonstrated by the certaine relation of *Morgan Kidwelley*, a student of the Common Law of *England*, who with great hazard had brought information to the Earle, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two approved Commanders, and most powerfull in their owne Countrey, were ready with all the forces they could make, to abet his course upon his first landing, though with hazard of their lives; and that his trusty Friend *Reignold Bray* was ready provided of money and all other necessities, to furnish *Richmonds* necessities, and only awaited his approach; And for the reasons aforesaid, advised him to steere his course for *wales*, and further, from them adjured him to make all possible festination, assuring him that nothing could procure better speed, than present expedition; whereupon *Richmond* with not much above two thousand stipendaries, and but convenient Bortoms to transfrete them, about the middle of August following, put to Sea, and on the seventh day after their departure from *Harflew*, they arrived at *Milford* haven, where, without trouble or impeachment, he landed his forces; and from thence peaceably marched to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants there he was joyfully received.

A common report is raised, that *Rice ap Thomas*, and *John Savage* stood out for King *Richard*, which gave some occasion of mistrust to *Richmond*; but the trouble was lessened when he was resolved by Captaine *Arnold*

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

nold Butler, that the Earle of *Pembrook* with all his retinue were upon the way to joyne with the Earle of *Richmond*.

*Richard Griffith* likewise with a band of brave Welsh-men, and *John Morgan* with the like number, encreased Earle *Henries* forces, who with them fairely and easily marched towards *Shrewsbury*.

The Earles skowts bring in word, that *Sir Robert Harbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to stop his passage; whereupon he dispatched messengers with Letters to his Mother and Friends, to certifie them of all occurrences since his safe arrivall, and to acquaint them with his intention to passe *Severne* at *Shrewsbury*, and from thence to march directly for *London*; and then prepares himselfe for the encounter: And in his march is saluted by *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a valiant crew of souldiers offers their service, so as Earle *Henry* will pledge his faith to performe his promise formerly intimated by Letter, which was, that after he had obtained the Crowne, *Richmond* should make and appoint *Rice* sole governour of *Wales*; which was assented unto, and accordingly afterwards performed.

*Sir Gilbert Talbot* that evening, with all the Earle of *Shrewsburies* tenants, the Earle himselfe being the Kings Ward, with about two thousand well appointed men, came and joyned with *Richmond*.

The Lord *Stanly* in the way with 5000. men, had taken his lodging at the towne of *Leicester*; but hearing of Earle *Henries* march that way, he quit the towne, and went to *Adderton*, where he quartered his men.

King *Richard* all this time lay at *Nottingham*, flighting any intelligence that was given him of the Earle of *Richmonds* proceedings, and as it were contemning their weaknesse, would often ask the Courtiers, what they thought a poore company of fugitive raskals were able to doe to impeach his pleasure.

Although at first he did neglect to stop their proceedings, yet when he understood that those forces, which he had appointed to impeach their passage, had not only suffered them uninterrupted to passe, but were now joyned unto Earle *Henry*; King *Richard* began, when it was somewhat with the latest, to look about him, posted directions to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Surry*, with *Sir Thomas Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and some others his well-willers, with all speed, and forces possible, to repaire unto him to *Lutterworth*. King *Richard* is informed by his Vaunt-curriers, that *Richmond* was encamped at *Lichfield*, and from thence would remove to *Leicester*, wherefore he upon the arrivall of his power, marched towards his enemies.

The Earle of *Richmond* likewise with his forces make towards *Tamworth*, and by the way is encountred by *Sir Walter Hungerford*, and some others, who had that night withdrawn themselves from King *Richards* part; and they gave *Richmond* true information, both of the number and order of King *Richards* Army.

The Earle of *Richmond* hereupon by night, secretly repayreth to his Father-in-law, the Lord *Stanley*, with whom and his Brother, having consulted of those things that might conduce most to his better proceedings, he returneth (but not without some hazard) to his company, which he found much encreased and encouraged by the accession of *Sir John Savage*, *Sir Bryan Stanford*, and *Sir Simon Digby*, with their severall Companies of valiant and expert souldiers.

King

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large plaine, a commodious place, neere *Bosworth*, adjoyning to a Hill called *Anne Beame*, where hee encamped; And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they were prepared to give him battell, hee the next morning drew his forces with what convenient speed hee could out of the Camp, and put them in order.

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

The Foreward, that was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Curraffers, under the conduct of the Earle of *Surrey*: The battell King *Richard* led in person, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pike.

The Rereguard was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled weapons, with two wings of horse-men, containing fiftene hundred, all of them cast into square manuples, still expecting the Lord *Stanleys* presence, who with two thousand, most of them horse-men, were not set out of their quarter, when the forlorn-hope of the Earle of *Richmond* had begun to skirmish; the foot-men, under the leading of Sir *William Stanley*, being upon their March, were enforced, as he pretended, to avoyd a myrie bogge that lay betwixt them and the King, and to avoyd the danger of being charged before they should have opportunity to joyne with him, to fetch a compasse about, by that meanes, casting a mist before the Kings eyes, that hee might not palpably perceive their intention, to give assistance to the Earle of *Richmond*; For if that should have beene discovered, it might have cost the life of little *George Stanley*.

The Earle of *Richmond*, very early in the morning, had sent unto his Father-in-law, desiring his present repaire; and the rather for that hee wanted his more able direction to deraigne his battell: But hee was answered from him, that no ayd or direction must bee expected from him, more than that he advised him, with all possible speed to give the onset, and after the battell should bee joyned, he and his Brother would second the battell. Earle *Henry* somewhat staggering at the first, at the answer, made a vertue of necessity, and took counsell of his owne Commanders; And by their advise, because the weaknesse of their body should not be presently discerned (for their numbers did but little exceed the halfe of the Kings) their Voward was made very open and thin, of which *John* Earle of *Oxford* had the leading; the Earle of *Richmond* in person led the battell, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left; whose souldiers being all alike clad, in white coates of cloth or frize, and hoods of the same, by the reflection of the Sunne upon them, made them appeare in the view of their Adversaries double their number. The Rereguard was governed by the Earle of *Pembrook*, which consisted most of of Horse, and some Pike, and black Bills.

King *Richard* having drawne his chiefe Leaders about him, and placing himselfe in that manner, as that he might be the better heard, saith;

My faithfull Friends, and fellow Souldiers, you, by whose true policie I at first obtained, and by whose as true prowesse I have hitherto defended my Crowne, mauger all the rebellious machinations, and tumultuary seditions of my so many Adversaries: you, by whose Prudence and provident circumspection nothing that might further the prosperity of this kingdome, hath beene omitted; nothing that might impeach or impaire



*Ann.* impaire the honour of it, hath beene committed; so that without adulation  
*1484.* I may say it, By your only advice, I am what I am: And if now by your  
*R.2.* ayd and assistance I doe not this day subsist, I shall not be so fortunate to  
 enjoy, as I have beene happy to obtaine; but I am confident of your loves  
 and loyalties, and thereupon set up my rest.

What should move this but halfe cooled souldier, this linsie-woolsie  
 Welsh-man, with a crew of poore rakeshame runnagates to attempt thus  
 to robbe mee of my Crowne, and you of your liberties and lives; I  
 know not, except the Divell owe his ambitious pride a shame, and hath  
 brought him this day to your hands to receive his condigne chastisement  
 for it. The beggerly Britons, and faint-hearted French-men, what further  
 aime have they than to make prey on your Patrimonies, to abuse your  
 wives and daughters, and to enrich themselves by your losses, and to ex-  
 tirpate your posterities.

For prevention of all which, let us this day but show our selves the inhe-  
 ritors of our Ancestors valours; and but fight like men, and you shall quick-  
 ly make them run like cravens, or dy like dogs.

For my part, take the word of your Prince, I am thoroughly resolved, either  
 this day to be a Conquerour, or else to lose my life in quest of victory;  
 And so Saint *George*, let us charge with courage.

But these words were not powerfull enough to work any great effect  
 in the hearts of the Souldiers, by reason they were delivered not  
 with that alacrity of spirit he was wont, but in a strained composure of his  
 countenance, as being dejected by the remembrance of his horrid dreames,  
 which the gnawing of his conscience had suggested in his sleep that night,  
 which made it appeare that he had no great hope to prevaile, whatsoever  
 he said, or shewed.

The Earle of *Richmond*, unwilling to be behind hand, in orderly directi-  
 on, made unto his men this exhortation.

*Richmonds*  
*exhortati*  
*on.*

If ever God gave victory to his servants fighting in a just quarrell, or gave  
 ayd to those that endeavoured the wel-fare of the Common-wealth, or gave  
 a blessing to such as laboured the suppression of a tyrannous usurper, the  
 vindication of innocent blood-shedding, or the just punishment of fratri-  
 cide, and most execrable treason:

We need not then (deere Countrey-men and my kinde companions in  
 armes) make any doubt, but that he will be pleased this day to give us a  
 glorious victory, and give us just occasion to triumph in the Conquest over  
 this usurping Blood-sucker.

It is not (I presume) unknowne to any one of you, that our cause is just,  
 for he, against whom we oppose (that wrongfully stileth himselfe King)  
 unjustly detaineth from me the Scepter of this Kingdome, which injustice  
 was initiated with blood, by the unnaturall murder of his Brother,  
 nephewes, and neereest allyes, continued by machivilian plots, and sinister  
 practises, to betray the Nobility and Gentry to the losse of their lives, the  
 confiscation of their goods, seizure of their lands, dis-inheriting of their chil-  
 dren, and finall extirpation of their families, as having no care of his consci-  
 ence, neither reverencing God nor respecting man. Am not I and you  
 (nay all the true-hearted Nobility of this Kingdome) woefull witnesses of  
 this his so insupportable tyranny? do we not every day and houre more and  
 more sustaine the wounds, contusions and dislocations, that this *Richard* by  
 his bloody reigne and tyrannous usurpation hath made in the body of this  
 Common-

Common-wealth, and shall we, part of her members, as if not sensible of her disgraces, or injuries, sit still, and silently suffer the ravenous Bore of the Forrest to root up the sweet Vine of peace of this Kingdome; and prey upon our rightfull inheritance? And as it were willingly lay down our necks to carry the servile yoke of his imperious cruelty, and insolent usurpation? The Lord forbid.

Ann.  
1484:  
R.2.

What are his associate confederates, but of like feather, such as his bate donation without right or title wrongfully usurp; as he doth the Crowne from me, so they your patrimony and unquestionable right from you and yours, without right or colour-like right.

Let us therefore pluck up our spirits, and setting all feare and diffidence apart, let us like faithfull fellows, and loving friends, in Gods name, joyn hand and heart to quell this monster of men, and either make in this dayes action the date of our life honourable, or the beginning of our victory triumphant. And God who is the onely giver of victory, will, I faithfully beleeeve, look upon the justnesse of the cause, and give successe accordingly unto us.

It is not multitude, but united hearts, for a just quartrell, that procures Conquest, and the God of glory can shew his power, through our weaknesse; the lesse our numbers, the more our renowne, if we be Victors; and if we dye (as we all owe God a death) in this so well an intended action, neither rust of time, which devoureth all things else, nor any thing whatsoever, can debarre us from a perpetuitie of life here on earth after death, and a Crowne of everlasting glory in heaven.

This ingratefull wretch hath diffidence in all men, and who then can have confidence in him? Let us therefore like true *Heroes* against a tyrant, honest hearted men against a traytor, and true patriots against an Usurper; like free borne undanted spirits against the monster of the earth, both in birth and behaviour, being from his infancy branded for a stigmatick; expresse our selves noble, honest, true hearted and valiant: goe forward then, advance our Colours, incite your courages, and in the name of God, cry, Saint *George* for *England*, and God, I doubt not, will give us his blessing, and make the day ours. In assurance whereof, thus I plight you the faith of a friend; I will rather be found dead by fighting resolutely, than alive by flying ignominiously.

These words were with gesture of body, and alacrity of spirit, so confidently delivered, that it drew from the hearers teares of joy; and put such resolution into their hearts, that they presently exprest the same in their present falling to handle their Armes, and by the way, to move, encourage, animate one another, to buy and vie for the Victory bravely, or to rate and sell their lives highly, dearly. And therewith advance, and giving a great shout, to shew their willingnesse, upon the first sight of the enemy, let fly a volley of shafts so close and home, that King *Richards* Voward halted, though against their wills, to joyne, to be out of the danger of a second shower.

The Earle of *Oxford* was as ready for the encounter, and fearing to be disadvantaged by the thinnesse of his front, he gave the word, that no man should straggle but follow his leader, and commanded the frontiers not to advance further nor otherwise than he gave direction; by which discipline they were presently falne into a close body, and so stood firme; in which time, Sir *William Stanley* had time to draw up his men likewise, to encrease the length of the Van; which gave them occasion on the other side, that were not well affected to the service, to slack their pace, and spare their bow-strings; which the Earle of *Oxford* well observing, being encouraged by the approvement of the

Ann.  
1484.  
R.3.

the course, by the Lord *Stanley*, who was now come to the Foreward, and publicly profest himselfe to wish well to his son-in-lawes proceedings, gave on with a brave charge, and followed it so home, that the adverse part, not able (at least not willing) to endure the shock (for the cause of quarrell in a Souldier, encreaseth the courage, or abateth the edge of resolution) gave ground; which moved King *Richard* to bring on the maine battaile, and with a desparate resolution entred so far into the enemies battaile, that with his own hands he slew Sir *William Brandon*, *Richmonds* chiefe Standard-bearer, and unhorsed Sir *John Cheney*, a strong and stout man at Armes. And at length, encountring with the Earle of *Richmond*, enterchanged some buffers. But *Henry*, ayded by the divine help, and favoured with the uprightnesse of his cause, withstood *Richards* forceable assault. But whilst the Armies on both sides stood striving in a doubtfull hazard who should winne the prize, Sir *William Stanley*, with three thousand fresh men, crying, Saint *George*, a *Richmond*, joyned with his Brothers souldiers, and brake into King *Richards* battaile, who thereupon fled incontinently, leaving the King behind to make a bloody catastrophe of his slaughterly reigne, who thoroughly enraged, furiously fighting without discretion or ability to prevaile, he fell under the sword of his enemies.

The rumor of his death, and the rowting of the battaile, gave occasion to the Reregard, commanded by *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, who rather wished than expected what did befall, to submit without striking stroke, whereby the victory fell to the Earle of *Richmonds* part, who upon certaintie thereof, instantly in most religious devotion, gave order for publick thanksgiving to God for their happy preservation; and he himselfe that gave the precept, made himselfe the pattern therein: alighting from his horse, and kneeling upon his knees, first privately to himselfe, and then publickly with the rest, gave glory to his Maker.

There were not above one thousand slaine on both sides, the chiefe of whom was *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, who was often warned, and much laboured that day to forbear the field, in regard there was found written upon his Tent doore;

*Jack of Norfolk be not too bold;*

*For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.*

But what God had before appointed, could not be prevented.

This *John Howard*, was the sonne of Sir *Robert Howard*, Knight, and *Margaret*, eldest Daughter and co-heire of *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; in whose right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1483.

He married two wives, the first was *Katherine* Daughter of *William* Lord *Mullyns*; by whom he had issue, one sonne and foure daughters.

*Thomas*, that succeeded him, and was created Earle of *Surrey*, in the first yeare of King *Richard* the third, and was restored to grace, and made Lord *Treasurer* in the sixteenth yeare of *Henry* the seventh; and

1. *Anne*, married to Sir *Edmond Gorge*, Knight.
2. *Isabell*, married to *Robert Mortymer*, of *Essex*, Knight.
3. *Jane*, married to *Thomas Tymperley*, Esquire; and
4. *Margaret*, married to *John Windham* of *Comberck* in *Norfolk*, Knight.

This Dukes second wife, was *Margaret*, daughter of Sir *John Chadworib*, Knight; by whom he had issue, *Katherine*, married to *John Bouchier*, Lord *Berners*, and no more.

*walter*



Walter Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, Knights, with William Catesby, an Utterbarrister, with some others, were taken flying, and shortly after executed at Leicester.

An.  
1484.  
R. 2.

Francis, Viscount Lovell, and the two Staffords, escaped and took Sanctuary in S. Johns at Gloucester.

Henry Earle of Northumberland, submitting himselfe, was not onely pardoned, but received into favour, whilst Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, eldest sonne of John Duke of Norfolk, that then and there rendred himselfe, as the other did, to the Conquerors mercy, was committed close prisoner in Leicester, and from thence sent to the Tower of London.

There were not on the Earle of Richmonds part above one hundred slaine; the principall whereof was William Brandon.

This battaile was fought at Rodner, neere Bosworth, the two and twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord God 1486.

After publike thanksgiving was, as before prescribed, orderly and religiously performed, Earle Henry gave order to search amongst the slaine, for such as were but wounded, commanding those carefully to be drest, and the other to be with decency on both sides buried.

The body of King Richard being amongst the slaughtered carcases found, the whole Army gave a generall shout, and with loud acclamations of, Long live King Henry, made the field eccho againe.

The Lord Stanley having in his custody King Richard the Usurpers Crown, which amongst the spoiles his souldiers had found and brought to him, placed the same on Earle Henry's head; wherewith the souldiers reiterated their joyfull acclamations, making the fields resound with, Long live King Henry, of that name the seventh; as if by their onely suffrages he had been elected and confirmed King of England.

Herewith the tent-keepers of the Usurper came and submitted themselves to the Lord Stanley, and brought with them young George Strange, whom the Usurper upon the Lord Stanleys refusall, presently to draw down his forces to joyne with him, had sworne (before he went to dinner) by the life of St. Paul, to have had beheaded: but was perswaded by his Councell, to forbear the execution, untill the battaile should be determined. Now being brought to the presence of his Father, the young Gentleman (being thereto by his keepers instructed before) craved the help of his mediation to the King for their pardon, which was willingly undertaken, and as easily procured.

From thence the Camp presently removed, and King Henry marched to the Towne of Leicester, where for the more refreshing of his men, and the better accomodation of himselfe for his journey towards the Citie of London, he remained two dayes.

In the meane time, the body of the Usurper, stark naked, all mangled and besmeared with blood, and dust, without so much as the least rag to cover his privities, was trussed behind Blanch Senigleer, his owne Pursevant of Armes, like Butchers-ware, his head and his armes hanging on the one side of the horse, his legs on the other, and so was brought to Leicester, where for a spectacle of hate and scorne, by the space of two dayes he lay bare and un-interred. At last, by the charity of the Gray Fryers there, without solemn funerall pomp, scarce with ordinary solemnitie, he was inhumed in their Monastery there: he reigned two yeares, two moneths, and one day.

This Richard married Anne, second daughter of Richard Nevill, commonly stiled, Great Earle of Warwick; by whom he had issue, Edward, whom

at

Ann.  
1484.  
R.2.

at twelve moneths old he created Prince of *Wales*; but happily dyed before his Father.

This *Richard* was borne at *Fodringhay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, the third sonne of *Richard* Duke of *York*, younger brother of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, by him murdred in the Tower.

After the death of his brother King *Edward* the fourth, he procured himselfe to be made Protector and Guardian of his two Nephewes; of whom he made himselfe the execrable murtherer.

For a fuller expression of his Character, he was borne a monster in nature, with all his teeth, with haire on his head, and nayles on his fingers and toes, with a viperous strength enforcing as it were his passage through his mothers wombe, whom afterwards he shamed not to accuse of adultery; but as one that then wrought journey-work with the Devill, his manners and qualities seconded the feature and lineaments of his body and members, which were much deformed, being hook-shouldred, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his countenance sower, the compofure of his face little and round, his complexion swarfic, his left arme from his birth dry and withered.

Nature supplied these deformities of the body, with a strong braine, a quick apprehension, a good memory, and a most fluent tongue, which he seldome exercised, but to the abuse of credulitie. And with the sweetness of his delivery, he could so prevaile with such whom he meant to work upon, that he would oftentimes, as it were infatuate them, and enforce their beliefe of his oathes and protestations, which were, By *Sr. Paul*, and wishing God to damne him, if he did not performe his word (which at the time of the speaking was no part of his thought) yea, sometimes against the hearers knowledge and conscience: he was neither morally honest, nor religiously good. He used to make authoritie the stawking horse to his will, and his will the sole commander of his conscience, the largeness whereof could without any scruple, swallow murder of Brother, Nephewes, Wife, and nearest friends, nay, attempt rape and incest with his own Brothers daughter, yet did with artificiall dissimulation, so cover his dishonest and abominable intentions, that not many could discover them.

Who or whatsoever opposed his aspiring pride, or unprofitable pleasure, was by his plotting cunningly and covertly taken away, or removed. He was so thoroughly perfect in the hypocriticall art of simulation, and dissimulation, that he would use most complement, and shew greatest signes of love and courtesie to him in the morning, whose throat he had taken order to be cut that evening.

He held it for a maxime in policy, that halfe doing in any thing, was worse than no doing; And therefore whatsoever he once attempted, he went through with it, howsoever it seemed to others unnaturall, and unchristian.

He used the instruments of his bloody plots, as men doe their Candles, burne the first to a snuffe, and then having lighted another, tread that under-foote; yet howsoever his birth were prodigious, and life monstrous, yet his death was not dishonourable. For though his cause were bad, he fought bravely, and dyed fighting, leaving behind an ample testimony of his great valour, and little grace. With the end of his reigne, the sword of civill dissention betwixt the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, which had been so long drawne, and so often bathed in the blood of Christians, was happily sheathed; and the passage to concord prepared; whilst this

poore

poore Iland that had been imbroyled with war and her companions, had lea-  
sure to call to minde, the many murders, stratagems, slaughters, overthrowes,  
and calamities, which through their unnaturall division of the two Roses,  
she had sustained; and thereby she found that from the time that *Richard*  
Duke of *York*, who was slaine in the battell at *Wakefield*, seeking to antici-  
pate the time allotted unto him by authoritie of the Parliament (whereby  
the Crowne was entayled to him and his issue) to gaine the possession there-  
of, and from whence all those preecited miseries did proceed, untill the  
death of the Usurper; there were slaine fourescore Princes of the blood royall,  
and twice as many Natives of *England*, as were lost in the two Conquests of  
*France*. The dissension that fell, was betwixt the House of *York* descended  
from *Lionel*, borne at *Antwerp*, Duke of *Clarence*, second sonne of *Edward* the  
third; and the House of *Lancaster*, issued from *John* of *Gaunt*, the third sur-  
viving, but otherwise fourth sonne of the same King: the first giving for  
his cognizance the White Rose, the other the Red.

*Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, married to his first wife *Elizabeth* daughter and  
heire of *William* Burgh, Earle of *Ulster*, and to his second wife *Violenta*  
daughter of *Galens* Viscount of *Mislaine*; by his first wife he had issue *Phi-*  
*lip*, sole and onely child; which *Philip* was married to *Edmond* Mortimer  
Earle of *March*, and *Ulster*, who had issue by her.

- 1 *Roger* March, the fourth Earle of *March*.
- 2 Sir *Edmond* Mortimer, that married the daughter of *Owen* Glendor.
- 3 Sir *John* Mortimer, beheaded. 3. H. 6.
- 1 *Elizabeth*, married to the Lord *Piercy* stiled *Hotspur*.

*Philip*, first married to *John* Hastings, Earle of *Pembrook*, & afterward to *Rich-*  
*ard* Earle of *Arundel*, and lastly to *John*, Lord *Saint-John*, died without issue.

*Roger*, the fourth Earle of *March*, 1387 nominated by King *Richard* the  
second, successor to the Kingdome of *England*, who married *Elianor* daugh-  
ter of *Thomas* Holland, Earle of *Kent*, by whom he had issue two sonnes, and  
two daughters.

- 1 *Edmond*, his eldest sonne, who succeeded him in the Earledome.
  - 2 *Roger* died leaving his father.
  - 1 *Anne*, who was married to *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, sonne of *Edmond*  
of *Langley* Duke of *York*.
  - 2 *Elianor* to *Edward* Courtney Earle of *Devonshire*.
- Richard* of *Conisborough*, married *Anne* sister and heire of *Edmond* Mortimer; and had issue *Richard* Duke of *York*.

This *Richard*, was the first mover of the faction against the House of  
*Lancaster*, the bearer of the red Rose.

He married *Ciceley*, the daughter of *Ralph* Nevill first Earle of *Westmer-*  
*land*, and had issue.

- 1 *Henry* that dyed before his Father.
- 2 *Edward*, of that name the fourth King of *England*.
- 3 *Edmond* Earle of *Rutland*, slaine at *Wakefield* by the Lord *Clifford*.
- 4 *John*,
- 5 *William* and } that all dyed all young.
- 6 *Thomas*,
- 7 *George* Duke of *Clarence*, murdered as afore.

1 *Anne*, the eldest daughter was first married to *Henry* Holland Duke of  
*Exceter*, and after to Sir *Thomas* Sayntleoger.

- 2 *Elizabeth*, married *John* de la Poole Duke of *Suffolk*.

Ann.  
1484.  
R. 2.



- 3 *Margaret*, married to *Charles Duke of Burgundy*.  
 4 *Vrsula*, never married; And thus was the title of *York* derived:  
*John of Gaunt* (so named of the place where he was borne) fourth sonne  
 of King *Edward* the third, married three wives; the first  
 1 *Blaunch* daughter and co-heire of *Henry* first Duke of *Lancaster*, by  
 whom he had issue:  
 1 *Henry Plantagenet*, borne at *Bullingbrook*.  
 1 *Philip*, married to *John King of Portingall*, and  
 2 *Elizabeth*, married to *John Duke of Exceter*.  
 2 The second wife was *Constance* daughter and one of the co-heires of  
*Peter King of Castile*, by whom he had issue, *Katharine*, afterward married  
 to *Henry* sonne of *John the King of Spaine*.  
 3 His third wife was *Katharine* daughter of *Payne Ruet*, aliàs, *Guyen*, King  
 of armes, and the relict of *Sir Otes Swinford* Knight, by whom he had issue,  
 but before marriage,  
 1 *John* surnamed *Beauford*, Earle of *Somerset*.  
 2 *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*.  
 3 *Thomas Beauford* Earle of *Dorset*.  
 1 *Ioan Beauford*, first married to *Ralph Nevill*, first Earle of *Westmerland*,  
 and then to *Robert Ferrers* Lord of *Ousley*.

This marriage betwixt *John of Gaunt* and *Katharine Swinford* was ap-  
 proved of, and the issue borne before the espousals, made ligitimate by act of  
 Parliament, and confirmed by a Bull from *Rome*.

This is the Catalogue of the pedegree of the two Houses of *Lancaster*  
 and *York*, betwixt whom the competition for the Crowne of *England*, was  
 the occasion of expence of so much blood.

Although the Crowne of *England*, upon the decease or deposition of *Richard*  
 the second without issue, was, *jure hereditaria*, to descend to *Edmond*  
*Mortimer* the younger, the Sonne of *Philip* daughter and heire of *Lionel*  
*Duke of Clarence*, the third Sonne of *Edward* the third, yet his Cosin *Henry*  
 of *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Hertsford*, and Sonne and heire of *John of Gaunt*,  
 the younger Brother of *Lionell* of *Clarence*, taking advantage of the peoples  
 forwardnesse, and his kinsmans being generally distasted, was created and  
 Crowned King.

From the yeere our Lord 1399. untill the fourth of March 1460. in  
 three Descents, the slips of the red Rose in the line of *Lancaster*, did beare  
 sway, but not without some interruptions and hazzard: For though *Edmond*  
*Plantagenet* Duke of *Aumerle*, Sonne and heire of *Edmond* of *Langley*, set  
 not the White Rose claime on foot, yet as maligning the prosperitie of  
*Henry* the fourth, he was a maine stickler in the conspiracie against him in-  
 tended to have been executed at *Oxford*.

But the eruption of *York*, never was manifest untill *Richard Plantagenet*,  
 Sonne of *Richard* of *Conisborough*, Anno 1455. drew his Sword to make good  
 his claime to the Crown of *England*. And from his time, I shall endeavour  
 to draw a Compendiary of the times and places of the severall Battells, be-  
 tween these two Houses strook, and the slaughter on both sides made.

Battell 1.  
 A.D. 1455.

Duke 1.  
 Earles 5.

The three and twentieth day of May, at *S. Albones* in *Hertsfordshire*, *Richard*  
 Duke of *York* gave Battell to King *Henry* the sixth, on whose side was slain:  
*Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*.  
*Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*.

*Humphrey*

Henry Earle of Northumberland.

Humphry Earle of Stafford.

Thomas Lord Clifford, say some others, John; with divers Knights and Esquires to the number of 37. with five thousand common souldiers, and Henry himselfe was taken Prisoner; on the Dukes part only six hundred: in the totall 5641.

Lords 1.  
Knights 11.  
Esquires 18  
5641.

A Battell was fought at Bloorbeath in Shropshire, the thirteenth day of September, betweene the Lord Audly Lieutenant to Henry the sixth, and the Earle of Salisbury, in which Audly was slaine, and his Army overthrowne: at this battell was slaine in all, two thousand foure hundred men, with Sir Thomas Dutton, beside six other Cheshire Knights, and two Esquires there-off; in all 2411.

Battell 2.  
Anno 1459.  
Lord 1.  
Knights 7.

Sir Osbert Mountfort, with twelve Gentlemen of his company, was taken at Sandwich and carried to Ricebanck, and there beheaded, by the Lord Fauconbridge.

2411.  
Knight 1.  
12.

The Earle of Wiltes at Newbury causeth twenty Yorkists to be hanged and quartered.

The tenth of June, in the thirty eighth yeere of the King, at Northampton was a Battell fought, wherein was slaine Humphry Duke of Buckingham.

John Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Thomas Lord Egremond.

John Viscount Beaumont, and Sir William Lucy, with tennethousand and thirty men slaine.

1030.  
Battell 3.  
Anno 1459.  
Duke 1.  
Earle 1.  
Lord 1.  
Viscount 1.  
Knights 1.

The Lord Scales is slaine upon the Thames, seeking to escape, by the Earle of Warwicks men.

Lord 1.

The thirtieth of December at Wakefield was a Battell strook, wherein the Queene prevailed, with the slaughter of two thousand eight hundred persons, not numbring Richard Duke of York.

Battell 4.  
An. 1469.

Edmond Earle of Rutland a child, and the Earle of Shrewsbury taken prisoner, but afterward beheaded. Sir John Mortimer, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, the Dukes base Uncles.

Duke 1.  
Earles 2.  
Knights 8.

Sir Davy Hall.

Sir Hugh Hastings.

Sir Thomas Nevill.

Sir William Parry.

Sir Thomas Parry.

Sir Richard Limbrick, Knights, then likewise slaine.

On Candlemasse day, upon the plaine neer Mortimers Crosse in Herefordshire, a field was fought betwixt the new Duke of York, and the Earles of Pembroke and Wiltes; wherein the Duke prevailed with the slaughter of 3800. men, but no man of qualitie, but Sir Owen Tyther, that had married Queene Katharine.

Battell 5.  
Anno 1491.

Knight 1.

Upon Shrovetue day the seventeenth of February, at Saint Albons, the second Battell was fought, between Queen Margaret, and the Duke of Norfolk and others, wherein were slaine two thousand three hundred men, besides the Lord Bonville.

Battell 6.  
Lord 1.  
Knights 3.

Battell 7.  
Anno 1491.

Sir Thomas Keryell.

Sir Iohn Gray, and Baron Thorpe.

The most cruell and deadly Battell of all others, during the rage of this unnaturall divison, was fought at *Townton*, or between *Townton* and *Santon*, within foure miles of *York*, the nineteenth day of March, being *Palme-Sunday*, wherein were slaine of Englishmen, thirty five thousand ninetie and one; and of strangers, one thousand seven hundred forty five; besides, two hundred and thirty slaine the day before at *Ferry Brigge*, with the Lord *Fitzwater*, and the base brother of the Earle of *Warwick*. The most remarkable men that fell in this bloody fight, were:

*Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Devon*.

*Iohn* Lord *Clifford*.

The Lord *Beaumont*.

The Lord *Nevill*.

The Lord *Willoughby*.

The Lord *Wells*.

The Lord *Rosse*.

The Lord *Gray*.

The Lord *Dacres*.

The Lord *Fitz-Hugh*.

The two base Sonnes of *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceter*.

Sir *Thomas Molineux*.

Sir *Otes Beckingham*.

Sir *Aubrey Trussell*.

Sir *Richard Piercy*.

Sir *William Heyton*.

Sir *Jervois Clifton*.

Sir *Foulke Hamys*.

Sir *Thomas Crackenthorpe*.

Sir *Iames Crackenthorpe*.

Sir *William Throllop*.

Sir *Andrew Throllop*.

Sir *Walter Harle*.

Sir *Iohn Ormond*.

Sir *William Mollyns*.

Sir *Thomas Pigot*.

Sir *William Norborough*, and

*William Burton*, Knights.

Earles 4.  
Lords 9.  
Knights 22  
37046.

The Earle of *Devonshire* there taken Prisoner, with three other Knights, were beheaded at *York*, and so may be reckoned amongst the slaine, so that the account of the whole number, besides those that died after of hurts then received, thirty seven thousand forty and six.

Battell 8.  
Anno 1463.  
Knight 1.  
107  
Anno 1464.

At *Hegley More*, the Lord *Montacute* charged and put to flight, two thousand *Lancastrians*, who were on foot to march to *Henry* the sixth, at which time Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with one hundred and seven were slaine, the residue flying, gave alarum to the Kings Army, and upon the 15 of May in a Plaine called *Livels*, neere the water of *Dowill* in *Hexam* shire, the battell was fought against *Henry* the sixth by the Lord *Mountague*, Generall for

*Edward*



Edward the fourth, wherein were taken Prisoners :

Henry Duke of Somerset.

The Lord Rosse.

The Lord Mollins, and

The Lord Hungerford.

Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Sir Thomas Hussey.

Sir John Findern, and sixteen Knights more executed at Hexam and York.

Sir William Talboys, titular Earle of Kime or Angus, and not Kent as Master Martin relateth.

Sir Ralph Nevill.

Sir Ralph Gray, and

Sir Richard Tunstall, were taken afterwards, but beheaded. The number slaine, is uncertainly set downe, the most of our common Writers not naming any, only Fabian saith, about two thousand, so that I make that my scale to reckon by.

At a place called Danes More, neere the Towne of Edgcor, within foure miles of Banbury, was a great Battell fought upon Saint Iames his day, the five and twentieth of July, wherein were slaine five thousand men.

William Herbert, Earle of Pembroke.

Sir Richard Herbert and eight Knights more, are taken and beheaded at Banbury.

The Earle Rivers, and Sir Iohn his Sonne are beheaded at Northampton.

The Earle of Worcester, Iohn Tiptoft at London.

The Lord Willoughby at Doncaster.

The Lord Stafford at Bridgewater.

The Lord Wells, and

Sir Robert Dymock, where beheaded in the March, but uncertaine where.

Neere Stamford in Lincolnshire was a Battell fought the first of October, wherein were slaine ten thousand men, but no men of note, but Sir Robert Wells, and Sir Thomas de land; those men were put to flight, for their more ease to escape, cast away their Coats, whereupon it was called Loscoat field.

Upon the fourteenth day of Aprill, being Easter day, upon a Plaine called Gladmore Heath, betweene Barnet and S. Albones, (the Earles of Warwick, Oxford, and the Marquesse Montacute, Commanders in chiefe, on behalfe of Henry the sixt, against Edward the fourth) there was a terrible Battell fought, wherein were slaine ten thousand three hundred men, amongst whom were the Earle of Warwick, the Marquesse Montacute, the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoy, Sir Henry Bouchier, Sir William Terrill.

Upon the fourth of May being Saturday, Prince Edward with his Mother Queene Margaret, to redeeme Henry the sixth, gave battell to King Edward, wherein Queene Margaret was taken Prisoner, and Prince Edward was slaine in cold blood. There were slaine at this incounter :

Iohn Somerset Marquesse Dorset.

Thomas Courtney Earle of Devon.

Thomas Lord Wenlake.

Sir Iohn Delves.

Sir Edward Hampden.

Duke 1.

Lords 3.

Knights 20

2024.

Battell 9.  
Anno 1469.

5009.

Earles 3.

Lords 3.

Knights 11

Battell 10.  
Anno 1470.  
Knights 2.  
10000.

Battell 11.  
Anno 1471.

Earle 1.  
Marquess 1  
Lords 3.  
Knights 2.  
10300.

Battell 11.  
An. predict.

A Prince  
Dukes 2.  
A Mar-  
quess.  
A Lord  
Prior.  
An Earle,  
A Baron.  
Knights 20

Sir

Sir Robert Whittingham.  
 Sir John Lewkner, and three thousand others.  
 Edmond Duke of Somerset.  
 John Lonstrother, Lord Prior of Saint-Johns.  
 Sir Thomas Tresham.  
 Sir Ieruoys Clifton.  
 Sir Richard Vaux.  
 Sir William Harvey.  
 Sir Thomas Fielding.  
 Sir Robert Lewknor.  
 Sir Thomas Lirmoth.  
 Sir William Vrman.  
 Sir John Seymor.  
 Sir Thomas Roope.  
 Sir Thomas Fitzhony.  
 Sir Robert Flanden, were taken and executed in Tewkesbury, the one day, and  
 Sir Humphry Audley.  
 Sir William Crymby.  
 Sir William Cary.  
 Sir William Newbrough were likewise with  
 Henry Tresham.  
 Walter Courtney.  
 John Flory.  
 Lewis Miles.  
 Robert Jackson.  
 James Gower.

Esquires 37  
1002.

James Delves, heire of Sir James Delves, beheaded there the next day. This was the last Battell that was fought in the dayes of King Edward the fourth, but not all the bloodshed about this quarrell: For at London by the treason of Bastard Fauconbridge, there were seven hundred and eighty of his partakers, and three hundred and twelve Citizens Londoners, slaine.

Battell 13.  
An. 1485.  
King 1.  
Duke 1.  
Lord 1.  
Knights 37.

Upon Redmore Downe neere Bosworth in Liecestershire, on the twentie two of August, was the thirteenth set Battell in this unkind quarrell fought, wherein King Richard the Usurper was slaine, and with him on his part John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, with foure thousand and eight: And on Richmonds side, Sir William Brandon, and 180 with him. After this Battell there was a conjunction of the so long severed Rose branches: Neverthelesse, the enemy to Englands quiet, would not suffer the gate of concord to stand quite open, but raised up impostors, and counterfeits, to interrupt the same: But since the cause of the dissention by the Union of the Red and White Roses, in Henry the seventh, and the Lady Elizabeth, their so happy enter-marriage, was taken away, what occasion of expence of blood did after fall out within the Realme, ought (under favour bee it delivered) rather to be imputed to the effect of treasonable machinations, then to any just occasion of the Roses Title.

And therefore I purposely omit to intermix the number of those that were slaine, since Bosworth field, amongst those that are to be reckoned up in the generall slaughter in the thirteen Battels, and the occasions of expence of

of blood intervening by skirmishes, and accidentall meanes, and content my selfe with the only recapitulation of the severall numbers, of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Viscounts, Bishops, Mirred Prelates, Knights, \* Esquires, \* Gentlemen, and private souldiers: that during the rage of these Civill Warres which followed that breach of the course of succession, attempted by the intrusion of *Henry* the fourth, fell under the alternate fortunes of the Victors sword; untill that ever to be blessed re-uniting the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, whereby righteousnesse and Peace did kisse each other, and Mercy and Truth (which I pray God ever to continue) established the Crowne of *England* in an hopefull and happy descending Line. And as *Henry* the seventh conjoynd the *Roses*, so hath King *James* of ever-blessed memory united the pre-divided Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, espousing their Union to our Sovereigne Lord King *Charles*, to Gods glory, the Churches good, and his Subjects great comfort.

\* Knights  
eldest  
Sonnnes.  
\* Of coat-  
armour &  
Ancestry.

HENRY the *Roses*, JAMES the *Kingdomes* knit:  
And CHARLES of both partakes the benefit.  
Oh! thou of *Jesse* flower, of *Judah* Lion,  
In his Dominion plant the peace of *Sion*;  
And never let hearts quiet follow those,  
That shall the holding of this Knot oppose:  
But let thy best of blessing wait on them,  
That zealously shall guard his Diadem.

The totall of private souldiers that perished in the time of these Civill warres, and suffered the punishment of immature death, for taking part on the one side or the other, is,

Fourscore foure thousand, nine hundred, and ninety eight persons, besides

Kings two.	Viscounts two.
Prince one.	Lord Pryor one.
Dukes tenne.	Judge one.
Marquesses two.	Knights one hundred thirty nine.
Earles one and twenty.	Esquires foure hundred forty
Lords twenty seven.	one.

The number of the Gentry is every way so uncertainly reported, that if I should endeavour to set downe a generall of what is particularly related, I should but give occasion of further question, than I am willing should be moved, for a thing of so little moment; and therefore willingly omit it: and the rather, for that they are for the most part included in the number of the private souldiers as aforesaid, set downe to be slaine: to which but adde the number of six hundred thirty and eight, the totall of all the persons of eminencie not therein accounted, and then there appeareth in all to have beene slaine, fourescore five thousand, six hundred, twenty and eight Christians, and most of this Nation, not to be repeated without griefe, nor remembred without deprecation, that the like may never happen more.

*Pax una triumphis innumeris potior.*

F I N I S.